

THE SOUL OF SHOE CITY  
THE CHURCH IN LYNN, MASSACHUSETTS FROM 1791 TO 1900

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF CHURCH HISTORY  
GORDON-CONWELL THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY  
SOUTH HAMILTON, MASSACHUSETTS

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF REQUIREMENTS FOR  
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF THEOLOGY

BY  
JOHN MARIENAU TURPIN

May 1, 2014

## CONTENTS

<b>Copyright</b>	<b>iii</b>
<b>Dedication</b>	<b>iv</b>
<b>Abstract</b>	<b>v</b>
<b>Vita</b>	<b>vi</b>
<b>Acknowledgements</b>	<b>vii</b>
<b>Chapter 1</b>	
<b>Intertwining Roots: Congregationalism and Quakerism</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>Chapter 2</b>	
<b>The Legacy of the Second Great Awakening: Revival, Reform, and Spiritual Experimentation</b>	<b>29</b>
<b>Chapter 3</b>	
<b>Cordwainers and Congregants: The Church and the Shoe Industry in Lynn</b>	<b>54</b>
<b>Chapter 4</b>	
<b>Grafting in and Growing Up: New People, “New” Denominations, and a Shared Task</b>	<b>71</b>
<b>Summary and Notes</b>	<b>93</b>
<b>Select Bibliography</b>	<b>96</b>

© Copyright John Marienau Turpin 2014

**For All God's People in Lynn**

## **ABSTRACT**

This thesis studies the development of the Christian Church in Lynn, Massachusetts from the 1791 founding of the state's first Methodist church to the close of the nineteenth century. The first chapter traces the outlines of the Congregationalist and Quaker religious foundations of Lynn coming in to the nineteenth century. The second chapter begins with Lynn's favorable reception of Methodist evangelist Jesse Lee in 1790-91. It portrays the burst of religious, political, and spiritual energy that accompanied Lynn's uniquely enthusiastic embrace of the Second Great Awakening and that gave shape to the Protestant church for the remainder of the century. Chapter Three acknowledges the primary role of industry—in particular the shoe industry—in the tremendous growth of the City of Lynn. It tries to follow the churches' relationship to business and to labor interests. The final chapter, covering the last decades of the nineteenth century, unfolds the rise of the Catholic and Episcopal churches, the continued trajectory of the Protestant churches, and the common circumstances and difficulties felt by both.

## **VITA**

John Marienau Turpin was born in Dallas, Texas in 1983. He grew up in Austin, Texas, and has also lived in Japan; Washington, DC; South Sudan; and Massachusetts. He received a B.Sc. in International Politics from Georgetown University in 2005 and an M.Div. from Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary in 2013. John is married to Stephanie Marienau Turpin. They have a brand new daughter, Junia, born April 2014. He currently attends East Coast International Church in Lynn, Massachusetts.

## **Acknowledgements**

Many thanks to the wide variety of people who have given assistance and encouragement throughout the research and writing of this thesis. The staff of the Congregational Library, the staff at the Peabody Essex Phillips Library, Kara Jackman at the Boston University School of Theology Library, Robert Johnson-Lally at the Catholic Archdiocesan Archives, and the Lynn Public Library staff were all important parts of the process. Lynn's church staff, lay leaders and clergy have been universally encouraging. Special thanks go to Chris Trehan and Irene Axelrod at St. Stephen's Memorial, Eric Nelson at Washington Street Baptist, Kevin Adams at East Baptist, Christina at Zion Baptist Church, Alan Ferguson at First Church of Christ, and my own pastor Kurt Lange at East Coast International Church. I am also tremendously grateful to my wife Stephanie for encouraging me as she prepares for the birth of our first child. Along the way, it has been a joy to find so many in Lynn and beyond who are excited about God's work with their spiritual forbears.

# Chapter One

## Intertwining Roots Congregationalism and Quakerism

### Introduction: 'Saugust is called Lin'

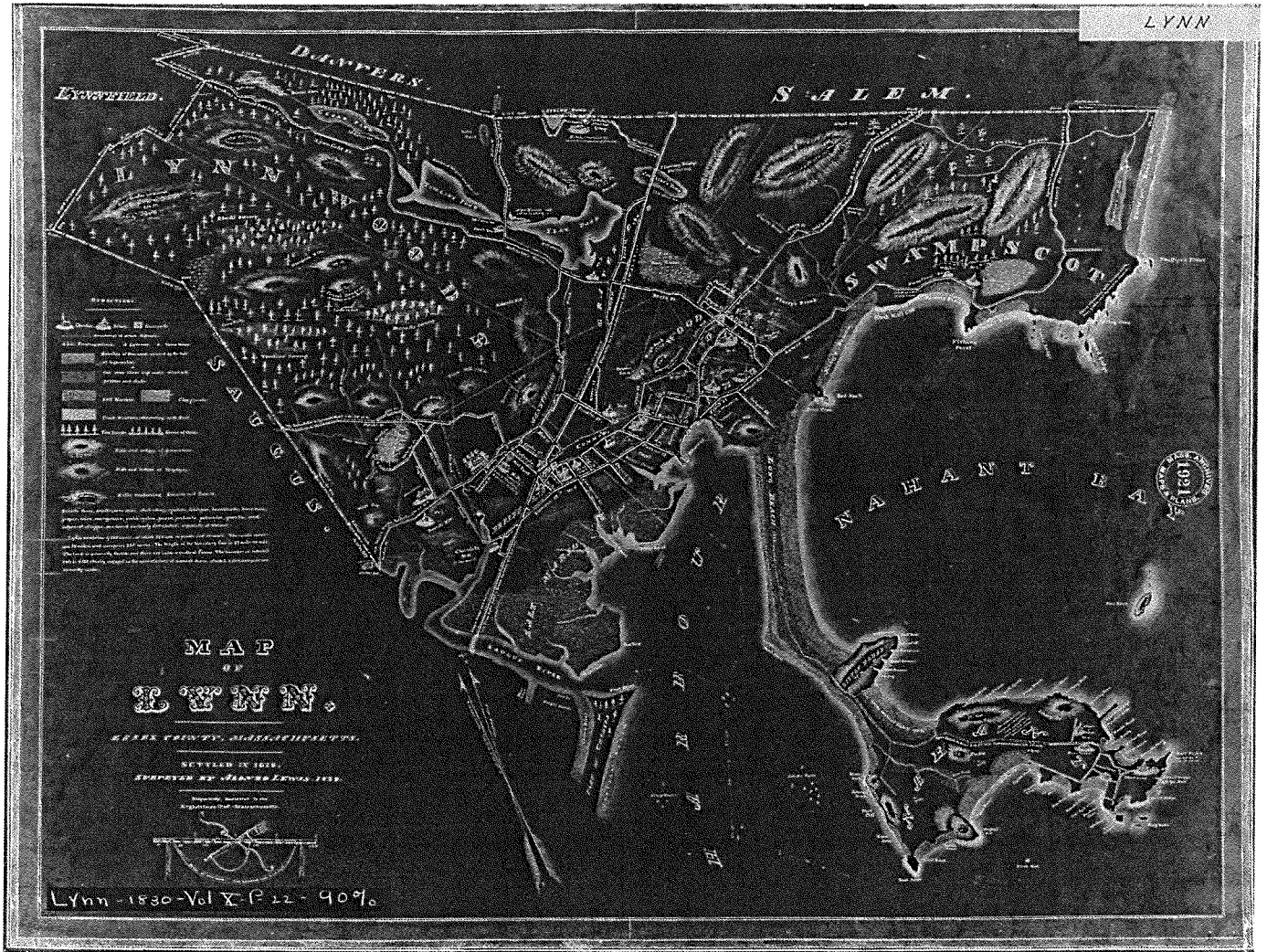
Lynn, Massachusetts was first populated by English settlers who spread outward from the port of Salem to inhabit modern-day Reading, Lynnfield, Saugus, Swampscott, and Nahant. These towns separated from Lynn in 1644, 1782, 1815, 1852, and 1853, respectively. Between the first United States census in 1790 and the eleventh in 1900, it grew from eleventh largest town in Essex County to its first. The growth is all the more significant in the context of the county's own 500% increase over the same time. An agricultural backwater without a harbor transformed itself into a major second city in Massachusetts.<sup>1</sup> Those who came to live and work in Lynn in this period were not only laborers or managers, wives or husbands, clergymen or shoe-making "cordwainers," but human beings and creations of God. Their spiritual lives will occupy our attention throughout these pages.

The spiritual life of Lynn over these years yielded some remarkable events and individuals, from the pioneering work of Methodist Jesse Lee to the brief and prophetic tenure of Frederick Douglass to the steadfast presence of Roman Catholic Patrick Strain. But it has yielded many more less famous individuals whose faith and whose lives help us to understand the city of Lynn as it developed throughout the nineteenth century. This is a study of the Christian church in Lynn

---

<sup>1</sup> "Lynn: Reconnaissance Survey Town Report," Massachusetts Historical Society, 1985. Excluding weak growth in the 1820 census, when "Lynn" lost the population





*Alonzo Lewis' Map of Lynn, 1829<sup>2</sup>*

in the singularly exciting stretch between the founding of the state's first Methodist church in 1791 to the dawn of the twentieth century. The study will follow in the footsteps of the "Lynn Bard" and "Obadiah Oldpath" (Episcopalian historians Alonzo Lewis and James Newhall), the steadfast if cantankerous Calvinist minister Parsons Cooke, and many congregational and municipal historians. But we hope that it will also go beyond them in chronology as well as in a broad focus on the whole church.

<sup>2</sup> Alonzo Lewis, *History of Lynn*, (Boston: J. H. Eastburn, 1829), ii.

Lynn, unlike most towns that form around an identifiable center, developed like an ellipse, with twin foci at “Wood End” in the plain near High Rock and “Breed’s End” in West Lynn near Saugus. Between them are the Common and what eventually became downtown. The less accessible and well-appointed destination towns of Nahant and Swampscott extend as a peninsula into the harbor and tuck into the coast underneath Salem, respectively.

The earliest English settlers, arriving from Salem in 1629, and later directly from England, called the area Saugust, after the Native American Nipmuck name for the region. Though a Congregational Society was not incorporated until 1632, a dramatic church history ensued without any further delay. The first pastor, Rev. Stephen Bachelor, arrived at age 71 with a group of relatives and friends from England. But it seems that he was more interested in land and women than in church affairs, and he was finally evicted from Lynn in 1835.<sup>3</sup> When Rev. Samuel Whiting arrived in 1636, a grateful parish named their town Lynn, after his prior home of King’s Lynn, Norfolk, England. The following year, the town was formally incorporated with the court record declaring, “Saugust is called Lin.”<sup>4</sup>

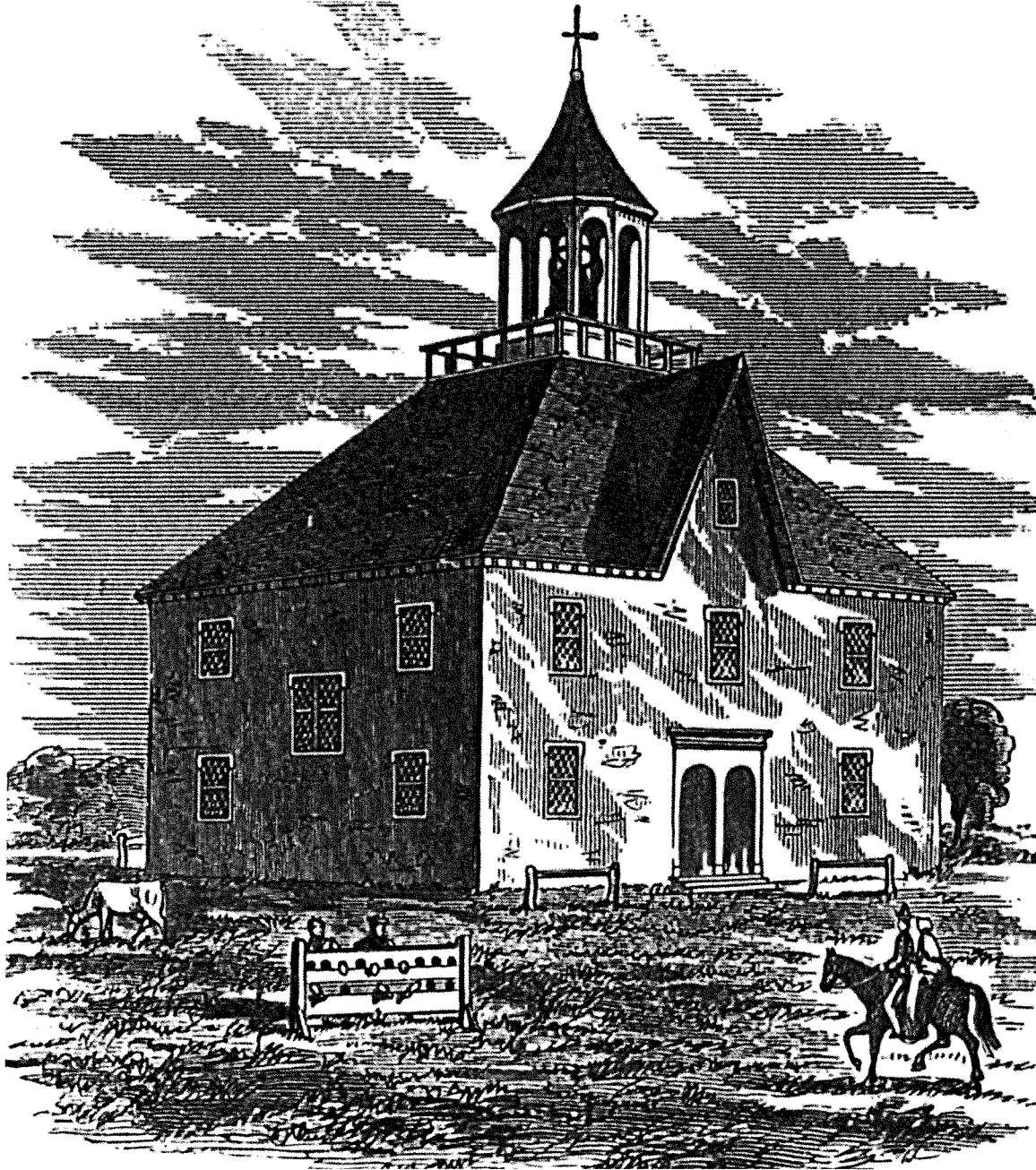
---

<sup>3</sup> Alonzo Lewis and James Robinson Newhall, *History of Lynn, Essex County, Massachusetts, Including Lynnfield, Saugus, Swampscot and Nahant*, (Boston: John L. Shorey, 1865), 160-62. After leaving Lynn, Rev. Bachelor received land and brief pastorates in Newbury, Yarmouth, and Hampton, before returning to London, where he died at the age of 100. He was excommunicated for soliciting adultery at age 80, and fined at age 87 for not legally marrying his third wife, who he quickly abandoned in a return to London, where he married a fourth. The scoundrel’s name is spelled variously: Bacheller, Bachiler, Bachelor, Batchellor, and Bachellor. Some of his relatives’ descendants became prominent figures in Lynn.

<sup>4</sup> Sidney Perley, *The Indian Land Titles of Essex County, Massachusetts* (Salem: Essex Book & Print Club, 1912), 14.

## The Congregational Root

"A complete history of this church would be a history of the town."  
- Clarence Hobbs, 1886<sup>5</sup>



*The Old Tunnel Meetinghouse*

---

<sup>5</sup> Clarence W. Hobbs, *Lynn and Surroundings* (Lynn: Lewis & Winship, 1886), 87; image p. 83.

Lynn's Congregational Society, now known as First Church of Christ in Lynn, Congregational, is America's oldest Trinitarian Congregational church still operating where it was planted.<sup>6</sup> The earliest Europeans in Massachusetts lived only a century after the Protestant Reformation, and their emigration to the new world was connected with the Puritan belief that even the Protestant Church of England was not sufficiently "purified" of Roman Catholic practices.<sup>7</sup> In opposition to Anglican and Catholic hierarchy, they emphasized the doctrine of the "priesthood of all believers," and proposed that the church should be governed by its members at the congregational level, hence the denominational name, Congregationalist.<sup>8</sup> The Congregationalists therefore took church membership very seriously. They examined all potential members for both doctrinal understanding of Calvinism<sup>9</sup> —a

---

<sup>6</sup> The specific language distinguishes First Church Congregational from the oldest Christians (Virginia), the oldest fully established church (Plymouth) or the oldest Congregational church (Salem, from whence sprung Lynn's church). Several Congregational Societies were begun before Lynn's was organized in 1632, but those congregations either went Unitarian or changed locations. The situation is explained by Pastor James L. Hill of North Congregational Church in *A Decade of History in the North Church, Lynn*, (Lynn: North Church, 1879), 3.

<sup>7</sup> Puritanism had a strand within the Church of England and a "separatist" strand that left the Church. Both strands had lively histories in England and America. See David Martyn Lloyd-Jones, *The Puritans: Their Origins and Successors*, (Edinburgh: Banner of Truth Trust, 1987); Edward Winslow, *Good Newes From New England*, (Bedford, MA: Applewood Books, Originally published in 1624) (Separatist); David D. Hall, *A Reforming People: Puritanism and the Transformation of Public Life in New England*, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2013) (non-separatist).

<sup>8</sup> Early Congregationalist churches in Massachusetts outlined their church governance structures in the 1648 *Cambridge Platform of Church Discipline*. Available at [www.americanphilosophy.net/cambridge\\_platform.htm](http://www.americanphilosophy.net/cambridge_platform.htm).

<sup>9</sup> Calvinism traces its name to John Calvin, the 16<sup>th</sup> Century reformer in Geneva, Switzerland. His influential *magnum opus* systematic theology is *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, *The Library of Christian Classics*, vols. XX–XXI, ed. by John T. McNeill, trans. by Ford Lewis Battles (Westminster John Knox, 1950). Also see David C. Steinmetz, *Calvin in Context* (Oxford, 1995); and Timothy George, *Theology of the Reformers*, (Nashville: Broadman & Holman, 1988).

focus on God's sovereignty meaning that people, being sinful, can only be saved if they are chosen by God—and for holy living. They later developed the “half-way covenant” by which people who were not full members of the church could be certified as members in good standing of the parish community organized around the church.<sup>10</sup>

In Lynn, the Puritan faith grew throughout the seventeenth century, and it expanded into a second meeting house, an early icon of Lynn, known with gently decreasing affection as the “Old Tunnel,” a reference to the cavernous and Spartan hall between its recessed floor and prominent bell tower, was the center of Lynn's religious, social, and political life from the late seventeenth to the early nineteenth century.<sup>11</sup>

At the church's 250<sup>th</sup> anniversary in 1882, one white worshiper reflected embarrassment at the race and class-based sins (still not wholly removed) that had

---

<sup>10</sup> Since the parish was the center of both political and ecclesiastical life, the half-way covenant had the advantage of diversifying authority away from the pastor, lessening tensions in parishes throughout New England, but also, as one Lynn historian put it, “It was a most happy device...for filling the Church with hypocrites and the world with infidels.” Walter Barton, “Historical Address,” in *Celebration of the Two Hundred And Fiftieth Anniversary of the Organization of the First Church of Christ in Lynn (Congregational Trinitarian) Thursday, June 8, 1882*, (Lynn: J.F. McCarty & Brother, 1882), 27.

See also, Norman Pettit, *The Heart Prepared: Grace and Conversion in Puritan Spiritual Life*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966); and Robert G. Pope, *The Half-Way Covenant: Church Membership in Puritan New England* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969). Pope (141-42) argues against the historical grain that the half-way covenant did not represent a decline in Congregationalist piety in the late 17<sup>th</sup> Century. He notes that in Lynn, Rev. Whiting used an innovative tactic to get around his mildly conservative congregation: members who had moved could have their children baptized in Hingham, where a more liberal half-way covenant recognized church memberships from any parish.

<sup>11</sup> Hobbs, *Lynn and Surroundings*, 85.

been bequeathed by his forbears and were so evident in the worship space of the meeting house:

“As time advanced these pews more numerous grew,  
But were not wholly uniform to view;  
Some large, some small, of patterns manifold,  
By which the owner's taste or means were told.<sup>12</sup>  
In a far corner—so the records read,  
Near to the ceiling placed with careful heed,  
Was a lone pew, where with more caste than grace,  
*Black* worshippers were told to take their place.”<sup>13</sup>

Samuel Whiting pastored the Lynn parish church from 1636 until he died in 1679, and has maintained a good reputation since his arrival, softening the image of the Puritans. In addition to his pastoral care, he spoke in 1749 at Harvard against

---

<sup>12</sup> In most churches of the era, pews were rented ahead of time and owned by families. Pew rental was a more substantial (and predictable) source of church income than weekly offerings. In this study, exceptions to this rule—North Church (Congregational), Free Church, some Baptist fellowships, and the hybrid model of the Catholic Church—will be notable. Pew rental was still the norm into the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century, though the practice was losing favor. In the case of the early Puritan church, families actually physically furnished their own pews, making for an unusual collage. George Whitefield Mead discusses the system and advocates for free pews in *Modern Methods in Church Work: The Gospel Renaissance*, (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1897). St. Stephen's Memorial Episcopal Church recorded the most expensive seats being the middle section of the church, a few rows back from the front. (Pew Rental Records, St. Stephen's Memorial Episcopal Church Archives).

<sup>13</sup> J. Warren Newhall, “Poem” in *Celebration of the Two Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the Organization of the First Church of Christ in Lynn, (Congregational Trinitarian) At Lynn, Massachusetts, Thursday, June 8, 1882* (Lynn: J.F. McCarty and Bro., 1882), 43. The single pew for black worshippers was, in fact, elevated and partly covered, minimizing the European congregation's view of their African brethren. For more on race relations in Puritan colonial Massachusetts, see for example Richard A. Bailey, *Race and Redemption in Puritan New England*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), and Catherine Adams and Elizabeth H. Pleck, *Love of Freedom: Black Women in Colonial and Revolutionary New England*, (New York: Oxford University Press: 2010).

over-strictness with accused witches.<sup>14</sup> His one notable disagreement with the town, a salary dispute resolved within a year, earned “the ungrateful inhabitants of Lynn” a rebuke from Boston Puritan Increase Mather which has been quoted by aggrieved Lynners ever since.<sup>15</sup>

In 1721, church members donated an engraved set of communion silver to the church that is still with the church today. Lynn’s church achieved brief fame in early days of the Revolutionary War, when Rev. Treadwell, “patriotic if not pious,”<sup>16</sup> led the people from meeting house to Boston to protest the British. The most famous Lynn church event of the eighteenth century was actually the absence of an event. Nathaniel Henschman, the society’s long-serving but dour, conservative and unpopular “Old Light” pastor from 1720 to 1761, refused to allow George Whitefield and other “New Light” revivalist preachers permission to preach in his pulpit during the First Great Awakening in the 1730s-1740s.<sup>17</sup>

From Henschman’s settlement in 1720, relations between clergy, church, and parish remained fraught for almost a century. Henschman’s curmudgeonliness and Treadwell’s revolutionary fervor were followed by a series of moral scandals and

---

<sup>14</sup> William Whiting, *Memoir of Rev. Samuel Whiting, D.D. and his Wife Elizabeth St. John, With Reference to Some of Their English Ancestors and American Descendants*. (Boston: Rand, Avery & Co., 1873), 100.

<sup>15</sup> *The Awl*, January 27, 1844. The indignant article to the short-lived labor periodical is signed “Lynn Bard,” but it is not clear that the author was actually Alonzo Lewis, the man most commonly associated with the moniker.

<sup>16</sup> George Henry Martin, “The Unfolding of Religious Faith in Lynn,” (Lynn Historical Society, 1912), 17.

<sup>17</sup> See Arnold A. Dallimore, *George Whitefield: The Life and Times of the Great Evangelist of the Eighteenth-Century Revival*, Volumes 1 & 2, (Carlisle, PA: Banner of Truth, 1970); and for a broader view, Thomas S. Kidd, *The Great Awakening: The Roots of Evangelical Christianity in Colonial America*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007).

salary disputes between the church and Rev. Obadiah Parsons.<sup>18</sup> Parsons was then succeeded by Rev. Thomas Thatcher, who in spite of prominent and promising beginnings, repelled more than he compelled. Only one full member came into the church in the last eleven years of his tenure, from 1801-13. Even the vehemently Calvinistic Parsons Cooke preferred his successor Isaac Hurd's three years of docile proto-Unitarianism.<sup>19</sup>

On a day-to-day spiritual level, however, all was not lost. At least the sexton (property manager) at the Old Tunnel at the close of the eighteenth century was regarded as "pious and worthy,"<sup>20</sup> "highly regarded for manliness of character and useful industry."<sup>21</sup> Known only by the name Hannibal, he had been a slave, kidnapped in youth and freed in middle age by a townsman in North Lynn. He then had to purchase his wife Phebe's freedom from a Quaker blacksmith for the substantial sum of 40£. The couple earned their neighbors' particular admiration

---

<sup>18</sup> The rumor, never fully proven but never fully dispelled, was that Parsons was an adulterer. He had been dismissed from Gloucester on such suspicion. See "Cooke's Centuries," Parsons Cooke, *A Century of Puritanism and a Century of its Opposites: With Results Contrasted to Enforce Puritan Principles, and to Trace What is Peculiar in the People of Lynn to What is Peculiar in its History*, (Boston: S.K. Whipple & Co., 1855), 210.

<sup>19</sup> Cooke, *Centuries*, 145. Though theological conflict had brewed for several years, the firm distinction between "Unitarian" and "Trinitarian" (as opposed to simple "liberal" and "conservative") emerged rather suddenly in the late eighteen teens. For more information on Unitarianism, see Leonard Smith, *The Unitarians: A Short History*, (Providence: Blackstone, 2006). For a description of the conflict from the hub of the Trinitarian camp, see Garth M. Rosell, *Boston's Historic Park Street Church: The Story of an Evangelical Landmark*, (Grand Rapids, MI: Kregel Publications, 2009).

<sup>20</sup> Lewis and Newhall, *History of Lynn (1865)*, 344.

<sup>21</sup> *Proceedings in Lynn, Massachusetts, June 17, 1879, Being the Two Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the Settlement* (Lynn: City Council, 1880), 100.



through faithful attendance at funerals and the production of herbal tea, respectively.<sup>22</sup>

But in spite of Hannibal's efforts, parish peace was still decades away. The discontent and spiritual fallowness begun during Henchman's tenure prepared Lynn's soil to receive the revivalist spirit of the Second Great Awakening<sup>23</sup> with an enthusiasm that would propel it out of its original ecclesiastical confines and into the opening decades of the nineteenth century with a sense of spiritual force.

### **The First Division**

By 1791, the Congregational headwater from which flowed the river of life in Lynn had become a stagnant pool, attracting few regular attenders, even fewer members, and yet fewer converts. Of the 2,291 residents in Lynn counted by the 1790 census, fewer than two hundred were full communicant members in the church.<sup>24</sup>

Methodist preaching had started in a private home in 1790, and Methodist excitement was so great that by the time the Methodist Episcopal Society had built their building in the summer of 1791, seventy men and an unknown number of women had left First Church. Only five male and twenty one female members

---

<sup>22</sup> *Proceedings in Lynn, Massachusetts, June 17, 1879*, 100.

<sup>23</sup> The Second Great Awakening, discussed below in the second chapter, was a period of intensified religious interest from the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century through the early decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century in the United States. See, for example, Iain Murray, *Revival and Revivalism: The Making and Marring of American Evangelicalism, 1750-1858*, (Carlisle, PA: Banner of Truth, 1994).

<sup>24</sup> James Mudge. *History of the New England Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church 1796-1910*. Boston: New England Conference, 1910., 80.

remained.<sup>25</sup> Adding insult to injury, two were First Church deacons, who took with them the silver communion ware that had been given in better days, seventy years prior. Thus they “plundered the Egyptians,” as Parsons Cooke would wryly observe.<sup>26</sup> But the much-reduced band of twenty-six were galvanized. They demanded their communion wares back, and when it became apparent that the Congregational Society still existed, the Methodist Episcopal Society returned the collection before going to court.

The Methodist split did little to heal the discontent in the First Church or the sour feelings that existed between the church and the town at large. And the church’s members could not help but notice that they had fewer members than the Methodists and, for good or for ill, the Parish was no longer the social center of the town. Seizing the germ of a growing sense of separation of church and state, the First Parish petitioned the town in 1805 for a reprieve for the Old Tunnel from the wear and tear of hosting town meetings. The initial request was to rotate meetings between the church meetinghouses.<sup>27</sup> Town leadership settled on a \$28 per year rent, but voters balked, and meetings were moved to the Methodist meeting house.<sup>28</sup>

The embattled First Church’s relative decline was still not over, but after the initial exodus to the Methodists, most new growth did not happen at the expense of the old. But as interest in things spiritual increased, the attraction to different

---

<sup>25</sup> Mudge, *History of the New England Conference*, 36.

<sup>26</sup> Cooke, *Centuries*, 238. Even Cooke concedes that, while history proved it hasty, it was not entirely unreasonable to think that the First Church was dead in 1791.

<sup>27</sup> Records of the Town Selectmen of Lynn, January 16, 1806.

<sup>28</sup> Kevin Sweeney, “Meetinghouses, Town Houses, and Churches: Changing Perceptions of Sacred and Secular Space in Southern New England, 1720-1850,” *Winterthur Portfolio* 28:1 (Spring, 1993), 59-93; 84.

doctrine and approaches to church governance grew with it. Though a Universalist Church was not officially organized until 1833,<sup>29</sup> there were Universalist meetings as early as 1811.<sup>30</sup> A Baptist congregation organized in 1815 and incorporated the



*Communion Silver at First Church, Given 1721<sup>31</sup>*

following year. The Baptists did draw some parishioners from the First Church, but some Congregationalists viewed the new denomination as an ally. At the time, the

---

<sup>29</sup> *Industries of Massachusetts: Historical and descriptive review of Lynn, Lowell, Lawrence, Haverhill, Salem, Beverly, Peabody, Danvers, Gloucester, Newburyport, and Amesbury, and their leading manufacturers and merchants* (New York: International Publishing Co., 1886), 40. Chelsea did the same in 1806, and town meetings were moved to the school house.

<sup>30</sup> Lewis & Newhall, *History of Lynn*, 371. Universalists, though joined in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century with Unitarians in the Unitarian Universalist Association, began as a more conservative denomination. Universalists believed in God as Trinity, but objected to the Calvinist doctrine of election, and held that eventually, all people would be saved. Though the Unitarian movement had more social prestige and prominent followers, Universalism survived as a distinct liberal Trinitarian denomination in Lynn and throughout the United States into the 1960s.

<sup>31</sup> Portrait at 1<sup>st</sup> Church of Christ, Congregational. Photo January 2014.

Baptist Rev. George Phippen preached a more vigorous form of Calvinism than the Congregationalist church, which was just staggering out of Rev. Thatcher's and Hurd's tenures in the pulpit.<sup>32</sup>

The tremors of Massachusetts' massive ecclesiological earthquake were eventually felt in Lynn's Congregational Society as well. As an established, state-supported church in Massachusetts, all non-Quaker residents of Lynn were members of the parish, and the community's taxes supported the church. While town matters were voted on by all land owners in the parish, only church members were permitted to decide the Congregational Society's business. The post-Revolution Massachusetts constitution of 1780 changed the arrangement. Everyone not specifically exempted still had to pay taxes, but decisions were now made by the parish—the whole taxpaying public—instead of just church members, whose conversions and Christian character had to be tested by church leaders.<sup>33</sup>

As the nineteenth century began to unfold, Congregationalist divisions were erupting throughout the state and the whole of New England between Trinitarians and Unitarians. The Trinitarians maintained the traditional Christian belief in God as Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. As descendants of the Puritans, they also held Calvinist views, though doctrinal diversity existed based on whether they chose to identify

---

<sup>32</sup> "Memoir of Mrs. Sally Phippen," *The American Baptist Magazine and Missionary Intelligencer* 1:9, May 1818, 1. Unfortunately Mrs. Sally Phippen, the wife of the new Baptist pastor, died the following year at age 22, never recovering from complications from childbirth. Also see Martin, "The Unfolding of Religious Faith in Lynn," 19.

<sup>33</sup> Jacob C. Meyer, *Church and State in Massachusetts from 1740 to 1833: A Chapter in the Development of Individual Freedom* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1968), 136.

with the more evangelical “New Lights” of the First Great Awakening or with the staid “Old Lights”.

Trinitarian Christians, also known as the orthodox party, taking their clergy from the conservative Calvinistic Andover Theological Seminary, and Unitarians, whose clergy came from Harvard College, clashed in the parishes, where Unitarians often believed that the Calvinists were unnecessarily exclusive regarding church membership. Unitarians believed in one God, and the teachings of Jesus, but not in the traditional Christian teaching that Jesus and the Holy Spirit are divine. As some Massachusetts Congregationalist parish voters—including all non-dissenting residents of the parish, not just church members—began electing more liberal Unitarian pastors, the Trinitarian church members would often secede, but in the process lose church property. In the 80 parishes that went Unitarian, only a quarter of the actual church members voted with the Unitarian parties. The courts, largely populated by a Unitarian upper class, consistently sided with the parishes in property disputes, arousing contemporary Trinitarian accusations of “plundering” and later Unitarian remorse—especially after the 1834 law separating churches from local government took an opposite approach to property, allowing church members to keep their buildings.<sup>34</sup>

In Lynn, however, the route to Unitarianism was circuitous, so its force was blunted in comparison with other parishes. Many New England towns hosted head-to-head battles between Calvinistic church attenders and non-Calvinists,

---

<sup>34</sup> Jacob C. Meyer, *Church and State in Massachusetts from 1740 to 1833: A Chapter in the History of the Development of Individual Freedom*. (New York: Russell & Russell, 1968), 177-81.

represented by the Unitarians. But the established Quaker minority and the excitement surrounding the Methodist Episcopal Churches had absorbed much of the demand for non-Calvinistic worship. And Lynn would faintly echo America's first Unitarian church, touching base first at Anglicanism. When King's Chapel Anglican Church in Boston re-opened in 1783 after the Revolutionary War, no one was available to preside because all the Anglican clergy had been recalled to England. The congregation put forward James Freeman, a lay reader with a liberal bent, who rejected the doctrine of the Trinity. When he went for ordination in 1785, no Anglican Bishop would ordain him, so the congregation, in good revolutionary spirit, imitated their American Congregationalist neighbors and ordained him themselves.<sup>35</sup>

North of Boston, Anglican churches under English control had existed in Lynn's more seafaring neighbor Salem since 1733,<sup>36</sup> and Episcopalianism, with its American bishops free from English control, came after the Revolution. Some Lynners in the Congregational Society admired the Episcopal liturgy and invited Salem's Rev. Thomas Carlisle to officiate services in Lynn. But as the church grew more established, eventually encompassing seventy worshipers (though only five communicant full members), week-to-week leadership was provided by the members. The lay reader, Mr. Hovey, took up a habit of omitting Trinitarian formulae from the readings out of the much-admired Book of Common Prayer.<sup>37</sup>

---

<sup>35</sup> Smith, *The Unitarians: A Short History*, 130.

<sup>36</sup> "History of St. Peter's," [www.stpeterssalem.org/about.htm](http://www.stpeterssalem.org/about.htm).

<sup>37</sup> James R. Newhall, "Historical Address by Hon. James R. Newhall, One of the Vestry, On Whitsunday Evening, May 16, 1880" 9-35 in *Memorial of St. Stephen's Parish, Lynn, Mass.* (Lynn: 1882), 21.

By 1822, Rev. Carlisle and the presiding Episcopal Bishop Alexander Griswold recommended that the group desist in its use of the Book of Common Prayer and of the name “Episcopal.”<sup>38</sup> Most histories, both Trinitarian and Unitarian, have viewed St. John’s as merely a façade for the emergence of the Unitarian parish that began organizing a month after St. John’s demise.<sup>39</sup> But Episcopal historian James Newhall, conceding that many did become Unitarians, has tried to revive the importance of the Episcopal experiment as distinct among the churches:

“[W]hen the prayer book was dispensed with, and Churchly forms discontinued, some, because they could not subscribe to the newly-developed Unitarian views, returned to the old society or formed connections with other evangelical bodies: the then recently formed Baptist society received some, others fraternized with the Methodists. These, without doubt, would have preferred a continuance of Episcopal worship, but were too few in number to hope for success in the establishment of a Church.”<sup>40</sup>

The judgment of Joseph Lye, a junior partner in the creation of both congregations, favors Newhall. The settlement of the Second Parish’s first pastor, Rev. James Dimon Green, in late 1824 was a mere “two years and about nine months” after the original conception of the society, rather than the five years after St. John’s.<sup>41</sup>

It is worth observing that churches, in addition to being houses for the worship of God, were the main social institutions in town. Most people would have

---

<sup>38</sup> “The Church Begins in Lynn” in *One Hundred Years of Christian Service: 1844-1944*. (Lynn: St. Stephen’s Memorial Church, 1944), 1.

<sup>39</sup> Newhall, “Historical Address,” 21. He argues with Parsons Cooke’s 1855 assessment, ““They were all evidently Unitarians, but from reasons of policy they chose not to hoist Unitarian colors at first,” and with Rev. Stewart’s 1873 Unitarian perspective: “They were Unitarians, and some indeed of still more extreme opinions.” Newhall counters that their uniting factor was rather a lack of Calvinism.

<sup>40</sup> Newhall, “Historical Address,” 22.

<sup>41</sup> Joseph Lye, *Diary of Joseph Lye*, Sunday, November 7, 1824. Peabody Essex Museum Holdings.

been familiar with the operations and members of local congregations as well as news from neighboring churches. The new diversification of denominations constituted a great deal of excitement, and even a fundamental shift in the way the community viewed itself. Joseph Lye himself, a militia member and journeyman cordwainer (shoe maker), is illustrative.

In the eight days from December 26, 1819 to January 2, 1820, Lye attended Trinitarian Congregational, Methodist, and Baptist meetings, and mourned the death of the highly regarded linguist, statesman and Unitarian pastor “Rev. Dr. Bendly [Bentley] aged 61 pastor of the East church in Salem,” all the while being a member of the short-lived St. John’s Episcopal Church.<sup>42</sup> He also occasionally attended the Quaker Friends’ meetings, bringing his denominational tally to a then-comprehensive six.<sup>43</sup> Lye was an active, if not a leading figure in the Lynn church scene. He was present at the creation of St. John’s Episcopal Church in 1819,<sup>44</sup> and of the (Unitarian) Second Congregational Society in 1822-23.<sup>45</sup> His wide participation in Lynn’s various churches placed him at the fascinating nexus of America’s budding nineteenth century ecclesiastical diversification, but it did not fill his days. The day after founding St. John’s, with the 1819-20 depression still on, Lye records merely that he “Waited for work.”<sup>46</sup> After the momentous establishment of the Unitarian congregation to which he would eventually become exclusively dedicated, he

---

<sup>42</sup> Lye, *Diary*, December 26, 1819; January 2, 1820.

<sup>43</sup> Lye, *Diary*, Sunday, December 28, 1817.

<sup>44</sup> Lye, *Diary*, Wednesday, January 27, 1819.

<sup>45</sup> Lye, *Diary*, Sunday, December 7, 1823.

<sup>46</sup> Lye, *Diary*, Thursday, January 28, 1819.



“Helped Major Witt kill his hog.”<sup>47</sup> The industrial revolution and its attendant busyness of life had yet to arrive in Lynn.

### **Rockwood’s Rescue**

In the end, the First Congregational Society stayed Trinitarian. Following Isaac Hurd’s dismissal in 1816, a two year standoff ensued between orthodox and Unitarian congregants. The pulpit was alternately supplied by temporary preachers called from Unitarian Harvard and Calvinist Andover. In 1818, Rev. Otis Rockwood was called on a temporary basis. Though a graduate of Andover, Rockwood was a popular and gentle preacher, and had done brief duty after his graduation, so he was not reflexively rejected by the Unitarians as simply an “Andover man.” Parsons Cooke records with glee that Rockwood survived his probationary period in part because Unitarian members thought they could influence the young pastor. By the time his consistent Calvinism became apparent, dissidents sought outlet in the established Methodist, the Episcopal and eventually the Unitarian societies.<sup>48</sup>

Rockwood inherited a congregation of 40 members—32 female and eight male—and attendance between 150 and 200. By the time he requested leave for a more lucrative parish in 1832, the revival of the early 1830s had moved the tally up to 96 women and 32 men, with a proportional increase in weekly attendance.<sup>49</sup> But

---

<sup>47</sup> Lye, *Diary*, Monday, December 8, 1823.

<sup>48</sup> Cooke, *Centuries*, 366.

<sup>49</sup> Cooke, *Centuries*, 380. In 1831 alone, 24 new members were admitted, only three of whom came by transfer from other congregations. See *Manual of the First Church in Lynn, Mass, Adopted January 1837*.

[www.lynnhistory.com/Churches/FirstChurchMemDir/1837FirstChurch.HTML](http://www.lynnhistory.com/Churches/FirstChurchMemDir/1837FirstChurch.HTML).

it was during the 1820s that the old religious establishment was functionally dethroned in Lynn.

As the Unitarian congregation settled its popular pastor in 1824, First Church suffered another existential crisis. The congregation's debts weighed heavily on the society's few members, and a vote to sell the Old Tunnel meetinghouse, pay the debt, and disband had already passed among the members when Rockwood volunteered to give up a third of his salary to assist with payment. With help from other Congregational churches, the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and additional pay from Rockwood's duties at the school, the society stayed afloat. Rev. Rockwood was remembered as the pastor under whom "the tide was turned"<sup>50</sup> for the society. Rockwood was able to boast several small victories, including the maintenance of the Bible in schools over the wishes of Unitarians and the deathbed conversion of leading Unitarian before taking a less strenuous and more lucrative assignment in 1832 to repair health and finances.<sup>51</sup>

When official disestablishment was pronounced in 1833, making Massachusetts the last state to officially remove Congregational clergy from public payrolls, it made little difference in Lynn. None of Lynn's pleasantly blunt nineteenth century historians—Parsons Cooke, Alonzo Lewis and James Newhall, or Clarence Hobbs—mentions the law as an important event. Lynn's church scene was wide open, and would become even more so.

---

<sup>50</sup> Hobbs, *Lynn and Surroundings*, 86.

<sup>51</sup> Cooke, *Centuries*, 379-81.

## The Quaker Root

**“This old Quaker stock of Lynn was really our aristocracy”  
- Howard Mudge Newhall, 1900<sup>52</sup>**

The Congregational Society was not the only Lynn institution struggling to find its way through the 1820s. Members of Lynn’s Society of Friends—Quakers, as they were known outside their own community—had to a much greater degree than in other towns in Puritan Massachusetts become respected members of the establishment. Of course, even in Lynn, in the 17<sup>th</sup> Century the Friends had not escaped persecution. Quakers had been looked upon with suspicion since George Fox’s 1650 blasphemy trial in England, and the low opinion of the Society of Friends, who eschewed the formal ordained ministry and emphasized the equality of believers and the “Inner Light” given by the Holy Spirit, made the jump across the Atlantic.

As in England, early English colonists in America distrusted Quakers as citizens (they were given to pacifism) and as Christians. A 1658 law, controversial even then and passed by the state legislature by a single vote, required any convicted Quakers to be “banished upon pain of death,” meaning that re-entry into the colony would end a Friend’s life.<sup>53</sup> That same year, three Friends were arrested in Salem and later killed in Boston for refusing to recant their faith, first giving

---

<sup>52</sup> Howard Mudge Newhall, “Address, Embracing Substance of Remarks to the Cooper Class of the Washington Street Baptist Church, Sunday, May 13, and to the Pupils of the Training School (Ingalls Avenue) and the Loughton Street Primary School, Monday, May 14,” in *City of Lynn, Massachusetts, Semi-Centennial of Incorporation*, (Lynn: Semi-Centennial Celebration Committee, 1900), 127.

<sup>53</sup> *An Act Made at a General Court, Held at Boston, the 20<sup>th</sup> of October, 1658.*  
[www.qhpress.org/quakerpages/qwhp/masslaw.htm](http://www.qhpress.org/quakerpages/qwhp/masslaw.htm).

Stephen-like testimonies of faith<sup>54</sup> in order to force their accusers to kill people who had given orthodox confessions.<sup>55</sup> In 1659, Zaccheus Gould was fined 3£ for harboring a Quaker,<sup>56</sup> and in 1675, Friend George Oakes had another 3£, this time in the form of a cow, taken from him for support of Rev. Samuel Whiting.<sup>57</sup> The famous Boston Puritan Cotton Mather, came to Lynn at the invitation of Rev. Jeremiah Shepard on July 17, 1694 for a day of “fervent supplication to the Lord that the spiritual plague [of Quakerism] might proceed no farther.”<sup>58</sup> Though the Friends persisted in existence, their conflict with the Congregationalist church had largely ceased by the 1700, with the particularly Rev. Shepard retired and a deal on taxes worked out.<sup>59</sup> Yet Salem and Lynn were the most fruitful region in the colony for Quaker “convincements,”<sup>60</sup> and some of these early converts established large Quaker branches of prominent Lynn families, such as the Breeds, Buffums, Newhalls, and Allens. The first recorded Friends meeting took place in 1678, and within the year, a meetinghouse was erected at Wolf Hill on what is now Broad Street. The

---

<sup>54</sup> See the account of Stephen’s martyrdom in Jerusalem, Acts 7.

<sup>55</sup> Samuel Boice, “Statement on Quakers” in Cooke, *A Century of Puritanism and a Century of Its Opposites* (110-115), 111-14.

<sup>56</sup> “Historical Sketch: Quakers” Lynn Historical Society, 1933.

<sup>57</sup> Cooke, *Centuries*, 115.

<sup>58</sup> Cooke, *Centuries*, 99. Shepard, known to be pious but overly serious, was accused of witchcraft during the Salem witch trials the previous year. “The charge was so manifestly absurd” that many of the excesses of the witch fervor quickly died down. See Hobbs, *Lynn and Surroundings*, 53.

<sup>59</sup> Cooke, *Centuries*, 99.

<sup>60</sup> Boice, “Statement on Quakers,” 113. No doubt family ties between Puritans and Quakers also lessened the appeal of religious persecution.

Society of Friends in Lynn grew enough that in 1816, it accounted for ten percent of Lynn's population, and the meeting house had to be expanded.<sup>61</sup>

Early Quakers did share something with the Puritans, however—a deep-seated moral conservatism. Neither Puritans nor Quakers celebrated Christmas as a holiday until decades into the 19<sup>th</sup> Century.<sup>62</sup> Both celebrated seriousness, industriousness, simplicity, and modesty.<sup>63</sup> In fashion, both preferred black. The danger and memory of religious persecution formed a tight bond within the community, and Lynn's Quakers were able to achieve that rare mix of cooperative ethos and individual work ethic that led in short order to economic prosperity.<sup>64</sup>

As would be expected in Lynn, this prosperity centered on the shoe industry. The local Quaker community, largely residing in East Lynn, could connect the shoe industry to a growing American Quaker commercial network. Among other commercial outlets, "A simple but sturdy boot was made by Lynn Quakers for slaves of the southern colonies, transported there by other Quakers."<sup>65</sup> The War of 1812 instigated the creation of a more efficient shop (not yet factory) system among

---

<sup>61</sup> Janet Lane, "Lynn's Quaker Cemetery Lives On," *Daily Evening Item*, August 23, 1983, p. 21.

<sup>62</sup> Diane Shephard and Kenneth Turino, "The Evolution of a Holiday: Christmas in Lynn, Massachusetts from the Seventeenth to the Nineteenth Century," 31-50, in Elizabeth Hope Cushing, Ed. *No Race of Imitators: Lynn and Her People, an Anthology*. (Lynn: Lynn Historical Society, 1992), 34. Both, of course, regarded most religious feasts and festivals as idolatrous "popery."

<sup>63</sup> "The center of gravity is thought, by a late modern philosopher, to be the middle of a Quaker congregation." *Lynn News*, March 15, 1850, 2.

<sup>64</sup> O'Connor, Eileen. "Riot At the Meetinghouse: Controversy at the Lynn Quaker Meeting, 1822" 15-30 in Cushing, ed. *No Race of Imitators*, 18.

<sup>65</sup> Paul Faler, *Mechanics and Manufacturers in the Early Industrial Revolution: Lynn, Massachusetts, 1780-1860*, (Albany: SUNY Press, 1981), 198.

Quakers, and efficient, respected Quaker manufacturing networks were tapped by the government to help cover the feet of its soldiers.<sup>66</sup>

As the new Quaker upper class evolved in Lynn, they looked after the interests of their city. The Friends School, functioning as a parish school, was an rare and successful example of public cooperation with the Society of Friends through the early 1820s. Indeed, "This old Quaker stock of Lynn was really our aristocracy, and the descendants of these old families have been and are today prominently connected with the affairs of Lynn."<sup>67</sup>

Ebenezer Breed, a Quaker descendent of one of the original Puritan settlers, Allen Breed, used his business and rhetorical savvy to help establish Lynn as a premier shoe manufacturing locale. During a brief stay in Philadelphia in the 1780s, he helped lobby the new Congress for tariffs to protect the domestic industry from European imports.<sup>68</sup> In 1783 Breed traveled to Europe, learning sophisticated tricks of the shoe trade and smuggling back one master shoemaker each to instruct producers in Lynn and Philadelphia. The combination of new skills and trade protections allowed many Lynn shoe shops to specialize in the lucrative women's shoe market.<sup>69</sup>

But Breed, rich and well-traveled early in life, was a conservative Quaker cautionary tale. After a failed 1795 business trip to the West Indies, he came home an alcoholic and never married. Though he was respected for his knowledge and his

---

<sup>66</sup> O'Connor, "Riot at the Meetinghouse," 19.

<sup>67</sup> Howard Newhall, "Address, Embracing Substance of Remarks to the Cooper Class," 127.

<sup>68</sup> "The Riches to Rags Story of Ebenezer Breed (1766-1839)," Lynn Museum, Summer 1999.

<sup>69</sup> "A Brief History of Lynn," [www.ci.lynn.ma.us/aboutlynn\\_history.shtml](http://www.ci.lynn.ma.us/aboutlynn_history.shtml).

contributions, he retained few personal friends.<sup>70</sup> The Society of Friends had no theological objections to profit in business *per se*, but the combination of vastly increased wealth, non-Quaker business dealings, opportunities for worldliness, and ties with slavery began to undermine the community's pillars. Friends were generally (though not, in Lynn's case, universally) opposed to slavery, and some of the nation's earliest anti-slavery activists had come from among their number.<sup>71</sup> Moreover, money created a temptation to abandon simplicity for conspicuous consumption and hierarchy.

At the same time, contact with other religious tradition was liberalizing some Quakers' theology. Though the Hicksite controversy, which split American Quakerism into two for 140 years would not come to a head until 1826-28 in Philadelphia, Elias Hicks shared his abolitionism and ideas for reform during a visit to Lynn in 1816. And the doctrinal and theological pressures that split Quaker union converged early on Lynn. The controversy would foreshadow the tension felt by religious radicals and reformers about their church membership all the way up until the Civil War.

Nationwide, a division had arisen between "New Lights" and "Old Lights." The nomenclature was a clever double entendre referring both to the previous century's Great Awakening and to the Friends' doctrine of the "Inner Light" of the Spirit that guides individual Christians and meetings as a whole. As in the Calvinistic

---

<sup>70</sup> "The Riches to Rags Story of Ebenezer Breed." One of those few friends was a young and free-spirited "Lynn Bard," our historian Alonzo Lewis.

<sup>71</sup> The first American religious protest against African slavery was made by Germantown (Philadelphia) Quakers in 1688. The petition is viewable at [http://trptych.brynmawr.edu/cdm/ref/collection/HC\\_QuakSlav/id/8](http://trptych.brynmawr.edu/cdm/ref/collection/HC_QuakSlav/id/8).

Great Awakening, Quaker New Lights were younger, poorer, more rural, more reform-minded, and more Spirit-oriented. But unlike the 1730s-40s, it was the Old Lights who were more conservative in their Biblical interpretation. New Lights criticized Old Lights for worldliness in economic affairs, compromise with slavery, and arrogance. Old Lights, meanwhile, judged the New Lights to simply be infected with “old darkness,” especially in terms of their readings of the Bible and their innovative belief in “a new spiritual dispensation, in which perfection was possible to mortal men.”<sup>72</sup>

Though Quakers had long accepted female preachers (in distinct contrast to their Puritan neighbors), a female preacher named Mary Newhall became the flashpoint of controversy in Lynn, and later beyond. A conservative observer wrote that she had “a fatal facility of entering into mystical speculations,...and great powers of language to express her thoughts.”<sup>73</sup> After simmering controversy, Quaker Elders took their worries about Newhall’s heterodox spirit of delusion to the annual meeting in June 1821. The committee appointed to investigate recommended a temporary preaching suspension for Newhall. Newhall rejected the recommendation and some of her more vigorous supporters prophesied that God’s judgment was “hanging over those who have been persecuting his children,” and threatened to “pull the old order down.”<sup>74</sup> New Light Benjamin Shaw was “disowned” (excommunicated) for his conduct, though a New Light ally wrote to his

---

<sup>72</sup> Frederick B. Tolles, “New Light Quakers in Lynn and New Bedford,” *The New England Quarterly* 32: 3 (Sep., 1959), 291-319,

<sup>73</sup> Tolles, “New Light Quakers,” 295.

<sup>74</sup> Tolles, “New Light Quakers,” 297. The quotes come from Content Breed and Benjamin Shaw, respectively. Breed, Shaw, and Newhall would all later appear in similar roles in a New Bedford Quaker controversy.



sister that Shaw had been unjustly “led out of the meetinghouse for no other reason than for attempting to clear his mind of that which he says is a burden.”<sup>75</sup>

The next year, at Friends meetings on February 10<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> 1822, the controversy erupted into the public sphere. Shaw attempted to take a seat in the upper gallery of the meetinghouse, traditionally the location of Elders’ seats. On the 10<sup>th</sup> he was prevented, but on the 14<sup>th</sup>, he gained a seat amid the fray. Old Light and Friends’ School principal Micajah Collins Pratt testified that Shaw’s compatriot Jonathan Buffum had entered with umbrella raised, and John Alley wore a sword to the meeting, as previously threatened. New Light Abel Houghton said that an opponent gripped Shaw by the neck and “let him fall, I suppose, accidentally.” When Old Light brute strength went to remove Shaw, he gripped the seat and split the wood.<sup>76</sup>

A crowd gathered outside of Lynn’s meeting house as the New Lights were ejected under loud protest. The agitators were read the riot act, jailed, and tried in Ipswich.<sup>77</sup> Most were convicted, though the particularly acrobatic Benjamin Shaw and sword-wearing John Alley were declared insane.<sup>78</sup>

Though Tolles presents the New Lights as the physical aggressors in Lynn,<sup>79</sup> Mary Newhall’s reputation has fared well over time for three reasons. The first is

---

<sup>75</sup> O’Connor, “Riot at the Meetinghouse,” 20.

<sup>76</sup> Tolles, “New Light Quakers,” 298. Twenty years later, Frederick Douglass would make such seat-breaking an iconic emblem of social struggle in Lynn. Douglass’ greater fame is only fair, as his exertion in breaking a train seat was no doubt much greater than Shaw’s efforts on the meeting house chair.

<sup>77</sup> Lewis, *History of Lynn, 1829*,

<sup>78</sup> Janet Lane, “Lynn’s Quaker Cemetery Lives On,” *Daily Evening Item*, August 23, 1983, p. 21.

<sup>79</sup> Tolles, “New Light Quakers,” 295-98.

that on the basis of Quaker tradition, neither she nor her supporters were as extreme as they may have appeared to outside observers in 1822. Newhall's placement of the Inner Light above doctrine and Scripture had grounding in none other than William Penn, and symbolic acts of violence against vice—including sword brandishing—had precedent in the recent past.<sup>80</sup>

Newhall, and her followers also gained some sympathy on account of the decisiveness of the New Lights' loss in Lynn. The convictions in Ipswich were strong, with offenders serving time in prison in Salem. The Lynn and Salem meetings disowned not only violent parties, but a full sixty members by the end of the controversy, who spread out into the Unitarian society and a short-lived New Light meeting.<sup>81</sup> Worst of all, when Mary Newhall lost her young son two years later, the Friends prevented his burial in the Friends Burial Ground, earning the censure of Lynn's first newspaper, the *Lynn Mirror*. In retaliation, James Pratt and Isaiah Breed purchased the adjoining plot, named it the New Light burial ground, and opened it to the entire population of the city.<sup>82</sup>

In addition, Mary Newhall herself received further fame when Ralph Waldo Emerson praised her role in a similar controversy in New Bedford. However, Emerson, on his way from Unitarianism to transcendentalism, was criticized for “the latest form of infidelity” for adapting Newhall's belief about a progressive new dispensation of religion.<sup>83</sup>

---

<sup>80</sup> Tolles, “New Light Quakers,” 316; 302.

<sup>81</sup> Lane, “Lynn's Quaker Cemetery Lives On.”

<sup>82</sup> Lane, “Lynn's Quaker Cemetery Lives On.”

<sup>83</sup> Tolles, “New Light Quakers,” 317.

By the 1820s and 30s, Lynn was as religious as it had ever been, but Congregationalists and Quakers had lost their joint oversight of the town's life of faith, and had grown new sprouts, from the radical to the rationalist. Most of these new ideas were still religious, and many still orthodox and Trinitarian, but they strained at ecclesiastical bonds and pressed for new approaches to church, society, and the individual. It is to the sources and directions of this enthusiastic spiritual environment that we now turn.

## Chapter Two

### **The Legacy of the Second Great Awakening: Revival, Reform, and Spiritual Experimentation**

“Out of Zion, the perfection of beauty, God shines forth.”  
- Psalm 50.2

“Such is the prominence of our city that anything strange or heretical that is believed or practiced anywhere is not worth notice if it has no adherents in Lynn!”  
- George Owen, 1907<sup>84</sup>

Between America’s independence and its Civil War, the religious makeup of the United States diversified drastically. A surge in religious interest and church-based reform movements swept the growing country between 1790 and 1840. These movements were accompanied by a shift in denominational affiliations. Congregational and Episcopalian establishments, weakened by their authoritarian structures, battles with Unitarianism, and association with the colonial era, gave way to Methodists, Baptists, and other evangelical denominations. Christian perfection,<sup>85</sup> the theological idea that the Holy Spirit can remove the taint of original sin, became a popular preaching point for Methodists and others concerned with the Christian duty to contribute to society through reform and evangelism.

---

<sup>84</sup> George W. Owen, “The Development of Theology in the First Church in Lynn,” *Celebration of the 275<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the First Church of Christ*, (Lynn: Thomas P. Nichols, 1907), 35.

<sup>85</sup> The original Methodist text on the doctrine was John Wesley’s *A Plain Account of Christian Perfection*, written between 1775 and 1777, available at [www.ccel.org/ccel/wesley/perfection](http://www.ccel.org/ccel/wesley/perfection). For a history of one of the doctrine’s most prominent nineteenth century advocates see Charles Edward White, *The Beauty of Holiness: Phoebe Palmer as Theologian, Revivalist, Feminist, and Humanitarian*, (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan/Francis Asbury Press, 1986). A modern pastoral analysis comes from James W. White, *The Doctrine of Christian Perfection: Its Historic And Contemporary Relevance for Methodism*. Unpublished D.Min. Diss. Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary May 1997.

The Second Great Awakening,<sup>86</sup> as the era became known, gave Lynn some of its most formative institutions and iconic events. The impressive rise of Lynn's Methodist Episcopal Church and its vigorous panoply of activists and causes helped it craft a distinct identity as a politically and spiritually vigorous city in the nineteenth century.

### **Methodist Rise**

The Methodist Episcopal Church<sup>87</sup> established in Lynn in 1791 was the first of its denomination in the state of Massachusetts. But the town's Methodist history can actually be said to begin in 1771, when Shoemaker Benjamin Johnson heard a Methodist evangelist on a business trip to New York. He treasured these things in his heart until December 1790, when an itinerating preacher named Jesse Lee, fresh from a failure to gain a hearing for Methodist preaching in Boston, accepted his invitation to stay and preach in Lynn.<sup>88</sup>

---

<sup>86</sup> Iain Murray, *Revival and Revivalism: The Making and Marring of American Evangelicalism, 1750-1858*, (Carlisle, PA: Banner of Truth, 1994), detects a more church-based piety in the late 18<sup>th</sup>-early 19<sup>th</sup> Century portion of the revival, symbolized by Methodist bishop-evangelist Francis Asbury, and prefers it to the later tendency toward enthusiastic one-off revival meetings, symbolized by Presbyterian abolitionist-educator Charles Finney. For a more sociological perspective, see Nathan O. Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989). An overview of significant religious revivals in the U.S., including the Second Great Awakening's place in that history, is Keith Hardman, *Seasons of Refreshing: Evangelism and Revivals in America* (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, 2006), 1994.

<sup>87</sup> Methodism began as a movement within the Anglican Church in England and adopted some elements of its structure from that church, including oversight by bishops, or *episcopoi*, from which name comes the name "Episcopal."

<sup>88</sup> James Mudge, *History of the New England Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church 1796-1910* (Boston: New England Conference, 1910), 35.

“It soon appeared” wrote Lee, “that Lynn was the place that should be attended to, in preference to any other.” The first Methodist class formed for study in February of 1791, with eight on the first day and hundreds of hearers within months. “Some of them were truly engaged with the Lord, and much devoted to his service; and others were sincere seekers of salvation.”<sup>89</sup> With Lynn as a base of operations, “in the course of 1791, there was a considerable awakening among the people in different places not far from Lynn,” including Manchester, Beverly, Gloucester, Weston, Natick, and Needham. In a testament Lynn’s early Methodist enthusiasm, the meeting house was begun on the June 14<sup>th</sup> and dedicated twelve days later.<sup>90</sup>

Bishop Francis Asbury, the famously well-travelled leader of the famously well-travelled itinerant class of Methodist preachers, was on hand for the first service, and found Lynn to be “the perfection of beauty; it is seated on a plain, under a range of craggy hills, and open to the sea: there is a promising society—an exceedingly well-behaved congregation... here we shall make a firm stand, and from this central point, from Lynn, shall the light of Methodism and of truth radiate through the State.”<sup>91</sup> After his visit, “religion continued to prosper in Lynn for many months without any declension.”<sup>92</sup>

---

<sup>89</sup> Jesse Lee, *A Short History of the Methodists in the United States of America Beginning in 1766, and Continued Till 1809, To Which is Prefixed A Brief Account of Their Rise in New England in the Year 1729 &c.* (Baltimore: MaGill and Clime, 1810), 165.

<sup>90</sup> Lee, *A Short History*, 166. It was 1792 before the Methodists were able to start a society in Boston, and even then had to appeal to other districts for support to build the Boston meeting house.

<sup>91</sup> Francis Asbury, *Journal and Letters of Francis Asbury, Vol. I (The Journal 1771-1793)*, (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1958), June 28, 1791, 685. Asbury’s joy in Lynn

By 1793, the congregation was flourishing, and when Asbury visited again, he had an audience at four services.<sup>93</sup> But a small controversy brewed that briefly besmirched the burgeoning movement. Jesse Lee's attempt to enforce the Conference's decision that "preachers are desired not to encourage the singing of fuge tunes in our congregations"<sup>94</sup> was deeply unpopular. Lee had also become too comfortable in Lynn, shirking his appointment to pioneer Methodism in Maine.<sup>95</sup> In 1794, some fuge-loving Methodists, including one of the deacons who had attempted to bring First Church's silver to the Methodist church, accepted the Congregationalists' invitation back into the parish fold. Jesse Lee records that in

---

stood in contrast to his attitude to Boston: "Some things here are to be admired in the place and among the people—their bridges are great works, and none are ashamed of labour; of their hospitality I cannot boast," (June 23, 1791). In Salem, "I looked upon the greater part of my congregation as judges; and I talked until they, becoming weary, began to leave me" (June 29, 1791). But Marblehead also gave him joy: "When I entered this town, my heart was more melted towards its inhabitants than to any in those parts, with the exception of Lynn" (June 28, 1791).

<sup>92</sup> Lee, *A Short History*, 166.

<sup>93</sup> Asbury, *Journal*, August 4, 1793. Asbury ambivalently recorded that though there were only 300 official members in Lynn's district, many more came to the meetings, necessitating seven or eight preachers: "although our members are few, our hearers are many." Relating to Jesse Lee's obstinacy with both congregation and hierarchy, Asbury wrote, "Circumstances have occurred which have made this conference more painful than any one conference beside."

<sup>94</sup> Lee, *A Short History*, 190. The Methodist Episcopal Church was organized into Conferences, and subdivided into circuits. Francis Asbury shared the role of bishop with Thomas Coke, but took the more active role in America, as Coke was based in England. Fugue tunes' complexity prevented the entire congregation from singing, which was judged to hinder the experience of worship.

<sup>95</sup> Mudge, *History of the New England Conference*, 47.

1795, the denomination recorded its first numerical decline since 1780.<sup>96</sup> The Lynn congregation partook in the troubles, declining from 1794-1802.<sup>97</sup>

Nevertheless, Methodism was fully established in Lynn before its turn-of-the-century malaise, and the outlook remained bright for the Methodists in Lynn and nationwide.<sup>98</sup> A fresh influx of new professing members in 1803 energized the society, and membership increased from 82 to 246 between 1802 and 1811, when a second congregation was gathered in West Lynn under the same leadership.<sup>99</sup>

Methodism differed from Congregationalism in its theological doctrines and its attitudes about clergy and laity. Congregationalists were traditionally Calvinists, focusing on God's sovereignty and understood human faith to be a gift, rather than a human commitment. As such, a pre-determined number of "elect" people were saved. Methodism took its doctrinal cues from John Wesley (1703-1791), an English evangelist who had worked on both sides of the Atlantic. Wesley agreed with the Calvinists that people were by nature spiritually dead because of sin, and could only be justified before God by faith. But he taught that God gave "prevenient grace"—different from saving grace—that allowed all people to choose to accept the gift of saving grace offered through Jesus' death and resurrection. Calvinists thought that Methodists presumptuously claimed that human effort can procure salvation.

---

<sup>96</sup> Lee, *A Short History*, 211.

<sup>97</sup> William R. Clark, "Sermon at the Re-Opening of the Church, 1859," John D. Pickles, ed., *Centennial Anniversary of the First Methodist Episcopal Church, Lynn, Mass., Observed February 19-22, 1891*, (Lynn: George C. Herbert Press), 128.

<sup>98</sup> John H. Wigger, *Taking Heaven by Storm: Methodism and the Rise of Popular Christianity in America*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 4. Nationwide, Methodist adherence dipped from 9% to 8% between 1790 and 1800, before rising to 14% in 1810 and 35% by 1850.

<sup>99</sup> Clark, "Sermon at the Re-Opening of the Church," 128-29.



Methodists accused Calvinists of determinism, and emphasized the moral holiness that results when a person actively receives grace. Division between the two perspectives has often centered around which theology takes God's grace more seriously.<sup>100</sup>

The Methodist view of the church also gave them a flexibility unavailable to Congregationalists. In an effort to spread their message as widely as possible, Wesley and his successors preached wherever people would listen. This practice upset the established parish model of both Anglicanism and Congregationalism, where one minister was assigned to each geographical area. Wesley famously said, "I look upon all the world as my parish,"<sup>101</sup> and he was happy to share that parish with many other evangelists. The "methodist" method that Wesley pioneered involved establishing classes for Bible study and exhortation. In Lynn as elsewhere, these classes often developed to become formal churches. Methodism had a place for preachers, but did not require the same level of education or grant the same privileges to them as did Congregationalists.

---

<sup>100</sup> Most Protestant theology and church history textbooks cover the origins and distinctives of Calvinism and Wesleyanism-Arminianism. Congregational and Presbyterian churches have historically been Calvinistic, though Second Great Awakening Presbyterian revivalist Charles Finney was not. Methodism and its offspring in the Holiness and Pentecostal movements are typically Wesleyan. Baptist and Episcopal doctrine can vary, but have historically leaned toward Calvinism. See for example, Alister McGrath, *Christian Theology: An Introduction*, (Hoboken: Blackwell, 2011), or Justo Gonzalez, *The Story of Christianity*, Vol. I, II, (New York: Harper Collins, 2010).

<sup>101</sup> John Wesley, *The Journal of John Wesley*, ed. Percy Parker, (Chicago: Moody Press, 1951), accessible at [www.ccel.org/ccel/wesley/journal.vi.iii.v.html](http://www.ccel.org/ccel/wesley/journal.vi.iii.v.html).

For example, in 1800, itinerant Methodist preachers' salary rose from \$64 to \$80 per year, while the average Congregationalist minister received \$400.<sup>102</sup> But what the Methodist clergy lacked in resources and education they made up for in effort. During his 1808 appointment in Lynn, Dan Young visited every house in town once per week.<sup>103</sup> Bishop Asbury—always traveling, never married—preferred to have his ministers itinerate rather than marry and “locate.”<sup>104</sup>

In Lynn, Methodists' relative lack of education and sophistication was a point of attraction rather than scorn for most parishioners. After eight years of Obadiah Parsons' scandal-tainted oversight of the Congregational parish, Lynners were ready for the Methodist attitude: “We do not despise learning, on the contrary we hold it to be desirable. But we do not deem it an essential qualification of a Gospel minister. Grace, rather than human learning, qualifies a man to preach.”<sup>105</sup> There could be little objection when “the great families of Lynn—the Breeds, the Newhalls, the Johnsons, and even the ‘royal’ family of Burrills, sent not a boy to college before 1800.”<sup>106</sup> Even Parsons Cooke allowed that “if Samuel Whiting, or the like of him, had been the minister of this church till the present time, Jesse Lee would have declaimed against a learned ministry in vain.”<sup>107</sup>

Still, the differing emphases of the Methodists and Congregationalists served to exacerbate certain developing social tensions, and in 1806, national politics

---

<sup>102</sup> Wigger, *Taking Heaven by Storm*, 49.

<sup>103</sup> Wigger, *Taking Heaven by Storm*, 37.

<sup>104</sup> Wigger, *Taking Heaven by Storm*, 70.

<sup>105</sup> Thomas Ware, Methodist itinerant preacher, quoted in Wiggers, *Taking Heaven by Storm*, 71.

<sup>106</sup> Martin, “The Development of Religious Faith in Lynn,” 19.

<sup>107</sup> Cooke, *Centuries*, 246.

created a heretofore unknown wedge. The wealthier, more established Federalists and the more farmer-and-mechanic-oriented Democratic Republicans held separate 4<sup>th</sup> of July celebrations at the Congregational and Methodist meeting houses, respectively.<sup>108</sup>

In addition to political parties, Lynn's laity began engaging in a variety of societies and causes, often anchored in the church, but potent enough to take on a life of their own. In an early instance of the Second Great Awakening's influence on society, the Methodist Society at Lynn created the denomination's first sustained domestic missionary society in 1819.<sup>109</sup> Methodist organization around classes allowed them to be early adopters of the Sunday School movement. Sunday Schools, or Sabbath Schools, often with female teachers, aimed to include poorer children in literacy and Christian education.<sup>110</sup> And though early Methodist preachers were not all highly educated, they viewed education—lay and ordained—as an instrument for uplifting society. Prominent Lynn Methodists Josiah Newhall, James Mudge, and Jonathan Tuttle signed the charter for the first Methodist seminary in New England.<sup>111</sup> By late in the century, it was immensely ambitious for a

---

<sup>108</sup> Lewis, *History of Lynn (1829)*, 201.

<sup>109</sup> Mudge, *History of the New England Conference*, 497.

<sup>110</sup> See for example, Addie Grace Wardle, *History of the Sunday School Movement in the Methodist Episcopal Church*, (New York: The Methodist Book Concern, 1918); and more recently, Anne M. Boylan, *Sunday School: The Formation of an American Institution, 1790-1880*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988).

<sup>111</sup> Mudge, *History of the New England Conference*, 337. There had been an unsuccessful attempt to start a seminary in 1818.

Congregationalist pastor to compliment the Methodists as being in a (friendly) “race with us for culture.”<sup>112</sup>



*First Methodist Episcopal Church, 1870s*

### **Baptist Beginnings**

Because of Methodism’s popularity, the second large evangelical denomination of the era had a lower profile in Lynn during the first half of the century. Opponents to infant baptism had suffered some of the same persecutions as Quakers in early colonial Lynn. In 1642, Massachusetts’ Governor John Winthrop records a “lady Moody, a wise and amiable religious woman, being taken with the

---

<sup>112</sup> F.B. Makepeace, “Colonies of the Church,” 104-119, in *Centennial Anniversary of the First Methodist Episcopal Church*, 110.

error of denying baptism to infants,"<sup>113</sup> who was excommunicated and soon moved to Long Island. The next year, William Witter, a blind man living in Swampscott, hosted three Baptist visitors from Rhode Island. The authorities had them arrested and transferred to Boston, where they were fined. But one, a physician named John Clarke, refused the fine and was held for two months before being whipped with thirty lashes.<sup>114</sup>

But unlike the Quakers, Mr. Witter and his affiliates did not maintain a following in Lynn. "Antipaedobaptists" as they were first known for their opposition to infant baptism, re-appeared in Lynn the second decade of the nineteenth century with the catchier moniker of Baptists. The denomination had 70 churches with over 8,000 full members in Massachusetts by 1812.<sup>115</sup> The same year, a far-sighted Baptist purchased the old Methodist meeting house,<sup>116</sup> but the First Baptist Society was not incorporated until 1816. The impetus came from Jonathan Bacheller, a Calvinist dissatisfied with events at First Church. Bacheller had purchased the building from the Methodist society three years earlier and held informal meetings until incorporating the church and calling the Calvinist Baptist Rev. George Phippen. Like the Methodists, the Baptists would only use the building for a short time. New

---

<sup>113</sup> Isaac Backus and David Weston, *History of the New England Baptists, With Particular Reference to the Denomination Called the Baptists*, (Paris, AR: The Baptist Standard Bearer, 2001), 120.

<sup>114</sup> John Clarke gives an extensive first person narrative of the events in *Ill News from New England*, (London: Henry Hills, 1652), available at [elbourne.org/baptist/ofbl\\_docs/john%20clarke's%20ill%20news%20final.pdf](http://elbourne.org/baptist/ofbl_docs/john%20clarke's%20ill%20news%20final.pdf). Also see William G. McLoughlin, *New England Dissent 1630-1833: The Baptists and the Separation of Church and State Vols. I, II*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971.

<sup>115</sup> Henry S. Burrage, *A History of the Baptists in New England*, (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1894), 310.

<sup>116</sup> Lewis, *History of Lynn (1829)*, 212.

structures were built in 1833 and 1867.<sup>117</sup> The Baptist church, less centralized than the Methodist, held to Congregationalism's insistence on local governance of congregations. And while its structure allowed it a variety of doctrines, Calvinism would predominate in New England.<sup>118</sup> Nevertheless, a minority denomination named the Freewill Baptists, holding to a more Wesleyan theology.

### **Reform Movements**

But if the Methodists and Baptists brought to Lynn a sense of spiritual force, they struggled to maintain in it a sense of spiritual clarity. The 1819 domestic missions society in the Methodist church marked an increase in lay piety as well as increase in lay activism as well as civic engagement. In 1825, Lynners got their first newspaper, augmenting those published from Salem and Boston. Eight more newspapers followed within the next fifteen years. Access to information and opinion multiplied exponentially, and the letters sections of each paper became a lively centers of public debate. Though denominational and religious papers like the Methodist *Zion's Herald* were popular, Lynn's own publications were more local or cause-oriented. In the 1830s-40s, several newspapers, entered publication. The *Free Soil Pickaxe* opposed slavery and aristocracy. *The Sizzler*, also a Free-Soil publication, specifically formed to campaign for Free Soil candidate Martin van Buren for President in 1848. *Lynn Dewdrop* promoted temperance. *Freedom's Amulet* promoted abolition of slavery. *The Old Rat* took as its purpose "scurrility,

---

<sup>117</sup> "Baptist Activities in Lynn," Unpublished history, East Baptist Church archives, 1924.

<sup>118</sup> McLoughlin, *New England Dissent*, 1.

satire, and attacks on other papers.” *The Awl* was an early labor movement paper, named for the leather punch tool of the shoemaker’s trade and published by the Journeymen Cordwainers Society. And the *Lynn Pioneer*, heir to the *Essex County Washingtonian*, was radical in its promotion of temperance and, later, abolitionism.<sup>119</sup>

In such a context, the Society of Friends’ New Light-Old Light conflict had offered the last opportunity for a clear victory of pure conservatives. Lay participation was structurally encouraged in the now-dominant Methodist Episcopal church. Moral and social reforms were promoted from the pulpit and by lay societies. The question that remained was, “Would reform be subsumed under the general framework of ecclesiastical authority, bending at times to the interests of the church in society? Or would reform follow its own logic of sacralization, connected to but independent of church authority and structure?”<sup>120</sup>

One such movement was that of Temperance, or opposition to liquor. The movement had begun under the care of evangelical clergy like Lyman Beecher in opposition to drunkenness (including among clergy) and evolved into a progressive renewal movement associated with labor rights, women’s political participation and efforts at religious renewal.<sup>121</sup> In Lynn, the Methodist meeting house hosted the first

---

<sup>119</sup> O’Brien, “Lynn Newspapers in the Twentieth Century,” Elizabeth Hope Cushing, ed. *No Race of Imitators: Lynn and Her People, an Anthology*. Lynn: Lynn Historical Society, 1992, 154. A total of 46 periodicals entered publication between 1825 and 1874, with 20 more starting up before 1900.

<sup>120</sup> Robert Abzug, *Cosmos Crumbling: American Reform and the Religious Imagination*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 106.

<sup>121</sup> See Jack S. Blocker, et al., eds., *Alcohol and Temperance in Modern Society*, (ABC-CLIO, 2003) and Holly Berkley Fletcher, *Gender and the American Temperance Movement of the Nineteenth Century*, (Florence, KY: Routledge, 2011).

public meetings of a society for “the suppression of intemperance and its kindred vices”<sup>122</sup> in 1826, the same year as the founding of the American Temperance Union. In fact, the popularity of temperance in Lynn helped to establish the growing town as an activist hub, in contrast to its established neighbor to the north. When a Salem clergyman was convicted in 1835 of libel and slander for writing against a distillery-owning deacon, admirers from Lynn visited him in jail every day to bring baked goods and see to his needs. “During the next twenty years the temperance movement invariably found Salem an extremely wily and elusive foe; at the same time, it gained increasing strength in Lynn.”<sup>123</sup> Lynn Rev. Samuel Cheever wrote against as popular as the cause was in Lynn, it did not convince

Temperance, of course, remained a favorite cause of moral reformers into the 20<sup>th</sup> Century, culminating in the 18<sup>th</sup> Amendment and Prohibition during the 1920s. Along the way, it brought the Irish Fr. Theobald Mathew, founder of the Catholic Teetotal Abstinence Society, to Lynn in 1848.<sup>124</sup> And in 1873 it caused the elders of the North Congregational Church to acquiesce to a protest from the Young People’s Society for Christian Engagement against the use of wine at communion.<sup>125</sup>

But the most aggressive early example of Temperance advocacy came in the form of the Washingtonian Movement. The Washingtonians, founded in Baltimore by a group of former alcoholics, were an early part of the Teetotaler wave of

---

<sup>122</sup> Lewis & Newhall, *History of Lynn (1865)*, 21.

<sup>123</sup> Paul Faler, *Mechanics and Manufacturers in the Early Industrial Revolution: Lynn, Massachusetts, 1780-1860*, (Albany: SUNY Press, 1981), 104.

<sup>124</sup> Lewis & Newhall, *History of Lynn (1865)*, 21. For background, see John F. Quinn, *Father Mathew’s Crusade: Temperance in Nineteenth-Century Ireland and Irish America*, (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2002).

<sup>125</sup> Minutes of the North Congregational Society, December 22, 27, 1873.



Temperance, encouraging total abstinence from all alcohol.<sup>126</sup> They sought to use former alcoholics, to reach current ones, seeing them as more effective instruments than churchly. The movement earned early support from evangelical top-down Whig reformers and bottom-up Democratic laborers alike,<sup>127</sup> but it soon created divisions in both camps.

At the Congregational Church, Parsons Cooke recorded his initial support of the movement, as of temperance in general. But the movement was explicitly divorced from both partisan politics and religious affiliation. By 1850, “Many of them were men in all their habits thoroughly irreligious, and took occasion of their temperance speeches to pour abuse on the ministry and churches with whom the temperance enterprise began.”<sup>128</sup> One apparently un-reformed Washingtonian speaker stood “in my own pulpit...whose breath while he lectured was loaded with the fumes of brandy,” and promoted the historical accomplishment of drunks. Cooke then courted controversy for both his crudeness and his seemingly anti-Temperance stance by calling the movement one of “graduates of the gutter,” but was vindicated when patience for the Washingtonians’ aggressive tactics and uneven record of sobriety began to wear thin.<sup>129</sup>

Washingtonian lack of religiosity was little more than a tactic in the larger history of temperance. But a more serious gauntlet was thrown before churches by

---

<sup>126</sup> See Patrick Spieb, *Why Has the Washingtonian Movement Failed: A Deep Analysis of the Early Temperance Movement*, (Munich: Grin Verlag, 2013).

<sup>127</sup> *The Awt* No. 33, March 1, 1845; John M. Murrin et al., *Liberty, Equality, Power: A History of the American People*, (Boston: Wadsworth, 2009), 296.

<sup>128</sup> Cooke, *Centuries*, 405.

<sup>129</sup> Cooke, *Centuries*, 407. Also see Parsons Cooke, *The Temperance Movement. Two Sermons Preached Before the First Congregational Society, in Lynn on Sunday, February 13, 1848*, (Lynn: First Church, 1848).

the abolitionist movement. The evils of slavery and urgency of abolition offered a moral clarity that was slow in coming to most Northern whites. Nor were all Northern whites abolitionists. But when the abolitionist cause arrived in Lynn it was a popular message, and it carried with it vigorous demands for repentance and action. When churches were slow to move, many abolitionists lost patience and “came out” of the institutions they viewed as complicit with oppression. Lynn became a significant hub of both abolitionist-centered reform activity and of radical “come-outerism” in Massachusetts.<sup>130</sup>

## **Abolition**

In 1835, at the urging of a visiting English denominational activist, Lynn’s Methodist churches formed a Methodist abolition society. Such was not an unusual ecclesiastical trend. By the next year, the vast majority of the New England Conference clergy supported the cause.<sup>131</sup> However, “in Lynn the radical reform impulse moved about as far beyond institutional churches as it would go in any town in the nation.”<sup>132</sup>

---

<sup>130</sup> Lewis Perry, *Radical Abolitionism: Anarchy and the Government of God in Anti-Slavery Thought*, (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1995), 17.

<sup>131</sup> Thomas Harwood, “British Evangelical Abolitionism and American Churches in the 1830’s,” *Journal of Southern History* 28:3 (August 1962), 287-306.

<sup>132</sup> Teresa Anne Murphy, *Ten Hours’ Labor: Religion, Reform, and Gender in Early New England*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992), 176. The distinction of “any town” is important, as Perry qualifies that even Lynn’s radicals were not as controversial as rural New Hampshire anarchist come-outers. For a larger picture of abolition’s place among reform movements see Bruce Laurie, *Beyond Garrison: Antislavery and Social Reform*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005). For an analysis of the nexus between reform and religion see Robert Abzug, *Cosmos Crumbling: American Reform and the Religious Imagination*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994).



*Frederick Douglass Bandstand,  
Lynn Common*

In 1845, Lynn lent itself to one of the most important events in American history. The *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave*, is signed by Douglass from “Lynn, Mass., April 28, 1845.”<sup>133</sup> The *Lynn Pioneer* gushed, “The book, as a whole, judged as a mere work of art, would widen the fame of Bunyan or Defoe. It is the most thrilling work the American press has ever issued, and the most important.”<sup>134</sup> It sold 5,000 copies within four months, and 30,000 worldwide by 1850.<sup>135</sup> The *Narrative* provided an inflection point for a white-led abolition movement, proving that even former slaves were capable of great eloquence. It also nationalized the moral argument against slavery, giving graphic ammunition to slavery’s opponents.

Though no spiritual history of Lynn would be complete without discussion of the abolitionist presence of Frederick Douglass, Lynn’s churches cannot claim him.

---

<sup>133</sup> Frederick Douglass, *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave*, (Boston: Anti-Slavery Society, 1845), 108.

<sup>134</sup> Quoted in Waldo E. Martin, *The Mind of Frederick Douglass*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986), 25.

<sup>135</sup> “Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, Revisited,” Harvard University Press Online, [www.hup.harvard.edu/features/frederick-douglass/](http://www.hup.harvard.edu/features/frederick-douglass/).

Records of the Douglass family's stay in Lynn are "sparse in the extreme."<sup>136</sup> Douglass spoke in several churches in Boston, It is unknown whether and where the Douglass family attended church in Lynn. He was a Methodist upon arrival from New Bedford in 1841, and was later ordained in the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church in Rochester. The African Methodist Episcopal Church was not founded until 1856, nine years after the Douglass family's departure.

The Douglass family moved to Lynn in 1841. Frederick was recruited to work as a speaker for the American Anti-Slavery Society by abolitionist leader William Lloyd Garrison. Lynn was perceived as sufficiently abolition-minded to protect the family from any attempts at recapture. But after the success of the *Narrative*, even Lynn was not safe enough.<sup>137</sup> Frederick went on a two year speaking tour in Europe in 1845, during which some supporters purchased his liberty. When he returned, Anna and their children stayed in Lynn while Douglass worked in Rochester to establish his own publication, *The North Star* in 1848.<sup>138</sup> The family home was five

---

<sup>136</sup> William S. McFeely, *Frederick Douglass*, (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1991), 103.

<sup>137</sup> McFeely, *Frederick Douglass*, 101.

<sup>138</sup> Frederick Douglass, *The Frederick Douglass Papers, 1842-1852*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 260. The interim between Douglass' return in April 1847 and their move in 1848 also allowed the family to prepare for the wedding of Ruth Cox, alias Harriet Bailey, on November 11, 1847. Cox was an escaped slave that lived with the Douglass family during their Lynn years under the pretense of being Frederick's sister. See note, p. 157. Western New York had also hosted a more politically active form of abolitionism than Boston. (See Ronald P. Formisano, *For the People: American Populist Movements from the Revolution to the 1850s*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008), 254 on political anti-Masonry's connection to abolitionism first in Rochester, then Lynn, and spreading through New England.) While Garrison insisted on abolition's uncompromising separation from ecclesial and partisan concerns, Douglass came back from Europe more willing to work with the Liberty Party, churches, and within the U.S. Constitution—in spite of its references to slavery.

minutes from the Lynn train station, and Frederick was rarely at home, especially during the 100 Conventions Movement in 1843. Frederick's wife Anna Douglass, free-born but not literate, left little record of her own experiences.

The relative silence of history spares Lynn's sins the rebuke given by Douglass to the Methodist congregation in his previous home of New Bedford. There the pastor, in seeming generosity, offered the segregated black congregants a segregated communion with the hypocritical words, "Come up, colored friends, come up! for you know God is no respecter of persons!"<sup>139</sup> Both New Bedford and Lynn were abolitionist towns and active conduits along the Underground Railroad.<sup>140</sup> But as Swiss-American theologian Philip Schaff put it, "*The negro question lies far deeper than the slavery question.*"<sup>141</sup> In his one recorded speech at Lynn in 1841, Douglass encouraged the sympathetic white crowd with the news that northern abolitionism was "known throughout the south, and cherished with gratitude" by slaves.<sup>142</sup> But he also admonished that "prejudice against color is stronger north than south."<sup>143</sup>

Within months, the point was memorably proven when Douglass was forcibly thrown out of the white section of a train at its stop in Lynn. Before his exodus, however, he managed to extract both the explicit rationale: "because you're

---

<sup>139</sup> Frederick Douglass, "The Church and Prejudice," November 4, 1841, Plymouth County, Massachusetts.

<sup>140</sup> Wilbur H. Siebert, "The Underground Railroad in Massachusetts," *The New England Quarterly* 9:3, (September 1936), 447-467; 363.

<sup>141</sup> Quoted in Mark Noll, *The Civil War as a Theological Crisis*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 51.

<sup>142</sup> Quoted in Martin, *The Mind of Frederick Douglass*, 26.

<sup>143</sup> Quoted in Stephen Katrowitz, *More than Freedom: Fighting for Black Citizenship in a White Republic, 1829-1889* (New York: Penguin Press, 2012), 1839.

black” and the train seat in which he was firmly ensconced. For a few days afterward, the Eastern Railroad refused to run trains through Lynn, fearing a repeat occurrence, while James Buffum and other friends of Douglass organized a brief boycott.<sup>144</sup>

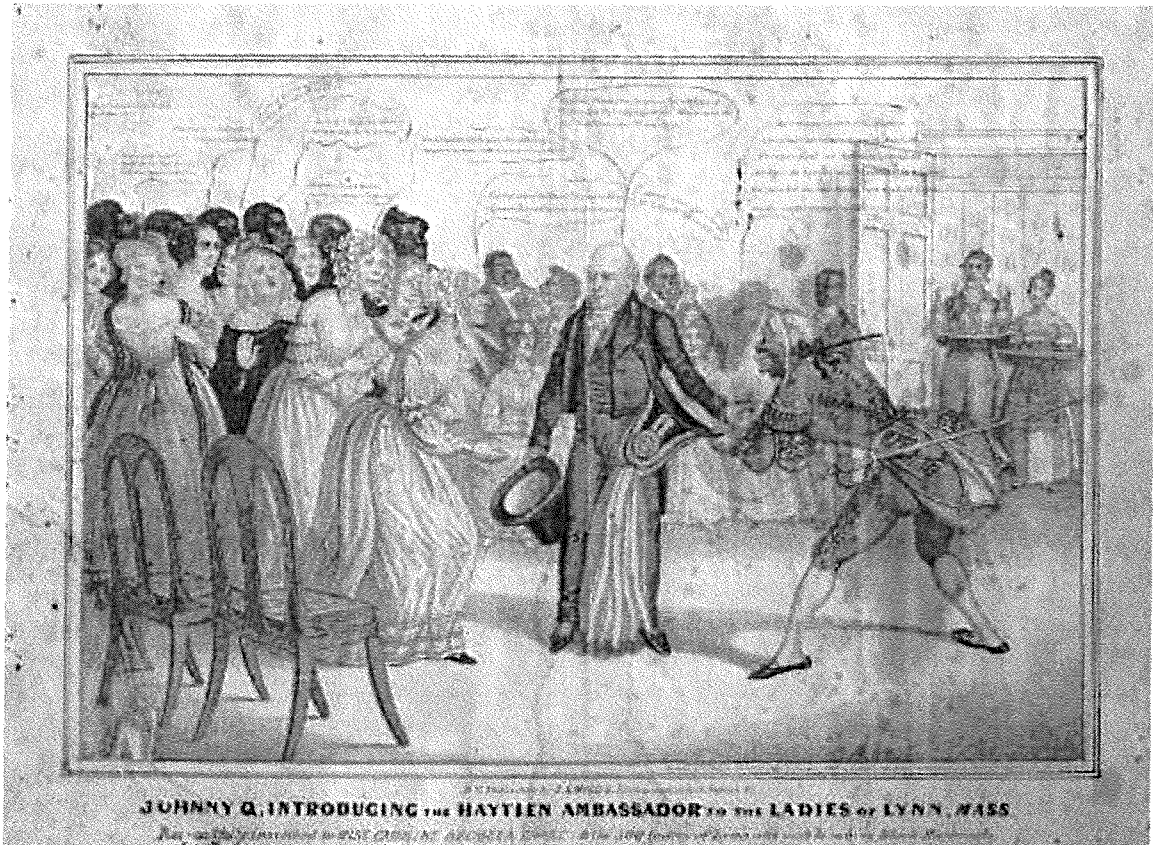
Anna Douglass cared for their three children, one born in 1842, and took up the local craft of shoe-stitching to add to the family’s income, and was an active member of the Lynn Ladies’ Anti-Slavery Society, along with noted abolitionist and Quaker-turned-come-outer Abby Kelley<sup>145</sup> and Lynn notables Hannah and Ruth Buffum. The Ladies’ Anti-Slavery Society sewed and sold products to generate revenue for the movement.<sup>146</sup> By Anna’s arrival, the Sewing Circle *cum* Anti-Slavery Society had earned a nationwide reputation for their activism. In 1839, the Society became a target of conservative northern scorn after gaining a final total of 785 signatures in a petition for equality before the law in the north. Opponents decided that the drive was motivated by a lack of satisfactory white husbands.

---

<sup>144</sup> David Newhall Johnson, *Sketches of Lynn, Or, The Changes of Fifty Years*, (Lynn: Thomas P. Nichols, 1880), 232. Johnson is a rare among 19<sup>th</sup> Century Lynn historians in mentioning Douglass’ presence in his accounts of the city. He also includes mention of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, not present in all accounts in spite of its establishment in 1856. Also see Julius Thompson et al., eds. *The Frederick Douglass Encyclopedia*, (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2010), 117-18.

<sup>145</sup> Kelley, later named Abby Kelley Foster, was a radical Garrisonian abolitionist. Both she and her future husband Stephen Foster were radical advocates of women’s rights. See Dorothy Sterling, *Ahead Of Her Time: Abby Kelley and the Politics of Antislavery*, (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1992).

<sup>146</sup> Frederick Douglass, Letter to the Lynn Anti-Slavery Sewing Circle, 18 August, 1846. *The Frederick Douglas Papers 1842-1852*, 161.



*Engraving Satirizing Lynn Ladies Anti-Slavery Society, 1839.<sup>147</sup>*

Douglass and Garrison regularly criticized churchgoers who were keen to honor the Sabbath but uninterested in immediate abolition. Douglass also praised activist “sabbath-breakers.” “Christianity prays for more of just such sabbath-breakers as these,” who “were determined to do something for humanity.”<sup>148</sup> A letter from England to his wife and the Lynn Anti-Slavery Circle, bemoaned the inability of the reform movements to prevent the Mexican-American War, which

<sup>147</sup> Engraving by Edward Williams Clay, Published in New York by John Childs, 1839. The lithograph is “Respectfully inscribed to Miss Caroline Augusta Chase and the 500 Ladies of Lynn Who Wish to Marry Black Husbands,” satirizing abolitionism as lust-driven and criticizing John Quincy Adams—Johnny Q—for his support for the cause.

<sup>148</sup> Frederick Douglass, Letter to William Lloyd Garrison, November 8, 1842, *The Frederick Douglass Papers 1842-1852*, 2.

would deliver Texas to the nation as a slave state. He wrote in dismay of Massachusetts' "Gov. Briggs issuing his order to send the sons of those who fell in the cause of freedom on Bunker Hill to fight the battle of slavery in Mexico! Gov. Briggs the teetotaler! Gov. Briggs the Baptist!" He continued with a somewhat short-lived radical sentiment, "The Union must be dissolved, or else New England is lost and swallowed up by the slave power of the country. Work on, dear friends, work on! Walk by faith and not by sight."<sup>149</sup>

After leaving Lynn, and Garrison, Douglass continued to criticize churches for race prejudice and compromising with slavery, but repudiated anti-sabbatarianism and radical rejection of the American political and constitutional system.<sup>150</sup>

### **Come-Outerism, Radical Politics, and Radical Spirituality**

In Douglass' absence, the come-outer tension remained. The Whig *Lynn News* promoted a speech by Garrison in March of 1850, but criticized his "irreligious rants" at the American Anti-Slavery Society in May. It compared Garrison's behavior to the expected boorishness of New York anti-abolitionist Isaiah Rynders, and reports with horror that he opened by referring to the Bible as "a book which some consider to be the word of God."<sup>151</sup> The come-outers also varied sharply among

---

<sup>149</sup> Frederick Douglass, Letter to the Lynn Anti-Slavery Sewing Circle, 18 August, 1846. *The Frederick Douglass Papers 1842-1852*, 159.

<sup>150</sup> Martin, *The Mind of Frederick Douglass*, 41.

<sup>151</sup> *Lynn News* 7:12 (March 22, 1850) and 7:20 (May 17, 1850). Garrison was already fully anti-sabbatarian during the March visit as well. His lectures, attended by clergy



themselves. *Lynn Pioneer* editor Henry Clapp Jr. had a friendly but public disagreement with Garrison, whom he considered insufficiently radical.<sup>152</sup>

In Lynn, the “incident of the comeouters”<sup>153</sup> was the turning point. Clapp’s party opposed chattel slavery, but also construed slavery more broadly as “any institution which frustrated human aspirations for spontaneity and impeded the governance of God over man.”<sup>154</sup> Abby Kelley’s future husband Stephen Foster attempted to interrupt both the First Congregational and the First Baptist Sunday services, and had to be physically carried out. In an orchestrated movement, other radicals did the same to other congregations in town, but met with similar reactions.<sup>155</sup> The eventual verdict on come-outers read, “They professed great regard for morality, but seemed to think it better when separated from religion. In a few years, how ever, the new light exhausted itself in extravagance of doctrine and indecorum of practice.”<sup>156</sup>

John Wallace Hutchinson, of the New Hampshire Baptist-turned-come-outer Hutchinson Family Singers, enjoyed musical and activist success while based in Lynn. In 1845, the family went on tour abroad and spent time in Britain with Frederick Douglass. John’s 1896 memoir recounts the “peculiar state of mind” of the Tribe of Jesse, as the sibling Singers were known, at the half-way point of the century. “Nearly every one of my older brothers had embraced the new doctrine of

---

on Saturday at Silsbee Street Chapel (Congregational), pointedly continued all day on Sunday at the Lyceum Hall.

<sup>152</sup> Perry, *Radical Abolitionism*, 116-17.

<sup>153</sup> Hobbs, *Lynn and Surroundings*, 86.

<sup>154</sup> Perry, *Radical Abolitionism*, 92.

<sup>155</sup> Cooke, *Centuries*, 124-26.

<sup>156</sup> Lewis & Newhall, *History of Lynn (1865)*, 409.

Spiritualism. My brother Jesse was enthusiastically devoted to it. It also took a strong hold upon some of us who were younger.”<sup>157</sup> Under the influence of the Spiritualist promise of guidance from mediums, Jesse Hutchinson and his more persevering successors Hiram and Edwin Marble, spent decades looking for treasure at Dungeon Rock in Lynn Woods. The treasure was supposedly hidden when pirates who had come up the Saugus River in hiding were swallowed by an earthquake. John Hutchinson writes of Hiram’s ambition either “to prove spiritualism or dig its grave.”<sup>158</sup>

The Hutchinsons were not mere oddities in their belief in communication with the dead at the time. Spiritualism was one of the many political and spiritual currents with poles in Lynn and Western New York. The concept of communication with the dead is millennia old, but the Spiritualist American incarnation began in 1848, when a family of Rochester-area reformist Hicksite Quakers took in two young sisters who claimed to make contact with the dead.<sup>159</sup> Lewis and Newhall still give it due deference in 1865:

During the few years immediately antecedent to the year 1850, scores of lecturers, many of them ignorant mountebanks, travelled up and down the country,.... But they all seemed to fade away in the light of *Spiritualism*, which began to prevail about that marked year, 1850. ... All such things are perhaps useful, from directing attention to studies which may do much to elevate mankind ; even as the old astrology, which in itself was puerile, led to some of the loftiest discoveries in astronomy.<sup>160</sup>

---

<sup>157</sup> John Wallace Hutchinson, *Story of the Hutchinsons (Tribe of Jesse)*, (Boston: Lee and Shepard, 1896), 272.

<sup>158</sup> Hutchinson, *Story of the Hutchinsons*, 273.

<sup>159</sup> See Bret E. Carroll, *Spiritualism in Antebellum America*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997). p. 248.

<sup>160</sup> Lewis & Newhall, *History of Lynn (1865)*, 423. In Lynn and the North Shore, the practice had ancient spiritual precursors in some of those accused of witchcraft in

One reputed Spiritualist was Mary Baker Eddy, whose miraculous recovery from an 1866 slip on the ice at Oxford and Market Streets, led to the formation of Christian Science. But Eddy subsequently maintained the uniqueness of Christian Science and distanced herself from any prior Spiritualism.<sup>161</sup>

In the formally ecclesiastical societies, beliefs and worship services were more regulated, but still diverse. The Second Great Awakening and the period of activism before the Civil War were equally creative for them. Lynn's Unitarians divided in 1831, when a Free Church on Oxford Street preached an Emersonian transcendentalism.<sup>162</sup> A revivalist Christian Church, an early attempt at non-denominationalism, emerged in 1835.<sup>163</sup> The Universalist Church established in 1833 would later become a denominational hub. And Methodism continued to expand, reaching five Methodist Episcopal and one African Methodist Episcopal congregations before the Civil War.

---

the seventeenth century and a more recent spiritual antecedent in fortune teller Moll Pitcher (c. 1736-1813). See Ellen Mary Griffin Hoey, *Moll Pitcher's Prophecies: Or, The American Sybil*, (Boston: Eastburn Press, 1895). Interestingly, Mormonism—native to Palmyra, NY—also gained early adherents in Lynn. Most of the family of later Free Soil and Republican politician John Alley converted in the 1830 or 40s. His sister Mary Buffum Alley was one of the first women to marry polygamously in the Mormon church. Connell O'Donovan, "Mormons of Essex County MA" [www.connellodonovan.com/essex\\_mormons.pdf](http://www.connellodonovan.com/essex_mormons.pdf). See also Gary James Bergera, "Identifying the Earliest Mormon Polygamists, 1841-44" *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*, 38:3 (2005), 1-74.

<sup>161</sup> Gillian Gill, *Mary Baker Eddy*, (New York: Perseus Books, 1998), 182.

<sup>162</sup> Peter Tufts Richardson, *The Boston Religion: Unitarianism in its Capital City*, (Birmingham, AL: Red Barn, 2003), 160. The Free Church was "free" both in its founders' view of their expressions of faith and in that they did not charge for pews.

<sup>163</sup> Johnson, *Sketches of Lynn*, 422. The denomination is described in Lester McAlister and William Tucker, *Journey in Faith: A History of the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ)*, (St. Louis: Bethany Press, 1975). Lynn's Christian Church was established in 1835.

In 1850, a Baptist writer accurately if immodestly summarized his denomination's past and present fortunes in a letter to the *Lynn News*:

“Mr. Editor: - As the prosperity of several of the religious societies in this city has recently been referred to in the newspapers, I consider it no more than just, and respectful, to give a passing notice of the Baptist Society. The society embraces a portion of our most wealthy and respectable citizens. They have persevered through their past trials and difficulties with honorable firmness and patience.”<sup>164</sup>

It was important to be able to demonstrate respectability in the midst of such variety. But the braggadocio doubtless struck many as insensitive. Lynn was officially incorporated as a city in 1850, and its churches would struggle to balance the challenge of keeping up with city's rapid development with that of bridging the economic gaps emerging between laborers, industrialists, and the middle class.

---

<sup>164</sup> *Lynn News* 7:17 (April 26, 1850).

## Chapter Three

### Cordwainers and Congregants The Church and the Shoe Industry in Lynn

*Crispin and Crispinian, Sts. (c. 285), martyrs. According to the purely legendary account of their martyrdom, the two brothers fled from Rome during the Diocletianic persecution and set up at Soissons as shoemakers, taking only such money as was freely offered them.<sup>165</sup>*

In 1825, a venerable shoe merchant named William Gray died. Gray was born in Lynn, but settled in Salem, a superior port for trade along the eastern seaboard and internationally. Alonzo Lewis penned the ambivalent ode, "Salem and Lynn for Gray's birth now contest; Lynn gains the palm, but Salem fares the best."<sup>166</sup> Lewis' sense of irked inferiority stemmed from the conflict between Salem's mercantilist trade wealth and Lynn's less lucrative but more holistic mechanic's economy.

Gray's passing fell during the early stages of a systemic transition in the shoe industry. Alan Dawley and Paul Faler, the two pillars of nineteenth century labor study in Lynn, offer differing accounts. Dawley writes that a few Lynn shopkeepers simply usurped the mercantilists' control of the industry and began to divide the tasks of labor as a cost-saving measure. Faler argues that growing demand and better access to markets allowed locals more opportunities and incentivized division of labor and local control of shops.<sup>167</sup> Whatever the case, Lynn eventually

---

<sup>165</sup> "Crispin and Crispinian" in E.A. Livingstone, ed., *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 151.

<sup>166</sup> Lewis, *History of Lynn (1829)*, 227.

<sup>167</sup> Alan Dawley, *Class and Community: The Industrial Revolution in Lynn*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976). Paul Faler, *Mechanics and Manufacturers in the Early Industrial Revolution: Lynn, Massachusetts, 1780-1860*, (Albany: SUNY Press, 1981). Dawley, the more activist historian, emphasizes the coherence of working-class culture. Faler sees a tripartite division in the labor

became identified with the entire shoe industry, from cutting to marketing and from temporary labor to conglomerate owner.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Town of Lynn was a largely agricultural community. Many of its houses had adjoining “ten-footer” sheds for shoe work that provided income outside of farming and fishing season.<sup>168</sup> In 1795, Lynn’s cordwainers produced 300,000 shoes. That number rose to a million in 1830, two million in 1850, 10 million in 1870, and 15 million in 1893, rising briefly to 20 million early in the twentieth century.<sup>169</sup> By 1900, the City of Lynn was dense with factories, shops, churches, and “triple decker” family apartments or boarding houses.<sup>170</sup> The nominal value of an average pair of shoes began and ended the century at about 75 cents. Between the century marks, the figure fluctuated, but averaged one dollar.<sup>171</sup>

---

movement between agitating “rebels,” obedient “loyalists,” and communitarian moralistic “traditionalists.” These two texts are foundational to many studies of the shoe industry, and drew scholarly attention to Lynn. Both are critiqued by Friedrich Lenger in “Class, culture and class consciousness in ante-bellum Lynn: a critique of Alan Dawley and Paul Faler,” *Social History* 6:3 (1981), 317-332), for over-emphasizing the vague division between master and journeyman mechanics and for discounting labor’s connections with other movements, such as temperance.

<sup>168</sup> Keith Melder, “Women in the Shoe Industry: The Evidence from Lynn,” 66-83 in *Life and Times in Shoe City: The Shoe Workers of Lynn*, (Salem: Essex Institute, 1979), 69.

<sup>169</sup> Pamela Guren, “Lost Lynn: The Shoe Industry and its Architecture, 1750-1910,” *Life and Times in Shoe City: The Shoe Workers of Lynn*, (Salem, MA: Essex Institute, 1979), 2, 4, 6, 15.

<sup>170</sup> Naomi L. Rosenblum, “The Housing of Lynn’s Shoe Workers in 1915” *Life and Times in Shoe City: The Shoe Workers of Lynn*, (Salem, MA: Essex Institute, 1979), 20.

<sup>171</sup> Guren, “Lost Lynn,” 15; Duane Hurd, ed. *History of Essex County, With Biographical Sketches of Many of its Pioneers and Prominent Men*, (Philadelphia: J.W. Lewis & Co., 1888), 284. Actual growth for Lynn proper is slightly higher than recorded, as early figures include Saugus, Swampscott, and Nahant.

From the War of 1812 era onward, both the Quaker trade networks<sup>172</sup> and Salem-based mercantilist “bosses” bought materials in bulk and contracted with home-based artisans for wider trade.<sup>173</sup> When the Old Light-New Light division struck the Society of Friends in 1822, the Quaker network lost much of its insular character and several individual Quaker shop owners became wealthy industrialists.<sup>174</sup> By the 1820s, successful Lynn shop owners or master cordwainers were slowly replacing out-of-town bosses. They “put out” basic work to rural areas, furthering the division of labor already present in family-based shops.<sup>175</sup> Women typically worked as “binders” for shoe parts in the home while men cut leather, made soles, and “lasted” the parts together.

Joseph Lye, the eventual Unitarian who had passed through all of Lynn’s early denominations, was also present at the creation of Lynn’s labor movement. In 1830, he became treasurer of the Mutual Benefit Society of Journeymen Cordwainers.<sup>176</sup> Traditionally, journeymen were mechanics a step above apprentice in the process of learning the craft. Each would eventually become a “master,” even

---

<sup>172</sup> See Ch. 1. As a result of early religious oppression, Quakers had developed a sophisticated cooperative system and inter-city network that put them at an advantage as shop and factory production became a possibility.

<sup>173</sup> *Lynn Record*, 1 January, 1834.

<sup>174</sup> The “Diamond District” along Ocean Drive and the wealthy areas between West Common and the shoreline had been a Quaker neighborhood. Faler, *Mechanics and Manufacturers*, 189. For the Old Light-New Light division, see Ch. 1.

<sup>175</sup> William H. Mulligan, “Mechanization and Work in the American Shoe Industry: Lynn, Massachusetts, 1852–1883,” *The Journal of Economic History* 41:1 (March, 1981) 59-63, 59.

<sup>176</sup> Lye, *Diary of Joseph Lye*, October 17, 1830.

if only master of the production under his own roof.<sup>177</sup> But with the rise of specialized employment, careers were made as contract employees. In its early years, such laborers took for granted that they were pillars of the community, and the Mutual Benefit Society was about culture as much as labor protection. Divisions grew after the Panic of 1837,<sup>178</sup> and “labor” began to slip in the respect it was accorded.<sup>179</sup> The Society published *The Awl* from 1844-45, furnishing excellent material for early labor history. *The Awl* was not at all anti-religious, but was thoroughly anti-elite. It celebrated allied clergy from the local Freewill Baptist Rev. E. Thompson<sup>180</sup> to the renowned Unitarian William Ellery Channing.<sup>181</sup> But it challenged the respect for clergy in contrast to workers: “Now let a man be as highly esteemed for cleaning out drains, as for making bargains or for preaching, and you go far towards removing the irksomeness of labor.”<sup>182</sup>

In some ways, it was a prescient form of proto-socialism.<sup>183</sup> But it is at least as helpful to understand its two years of publication and associated male and

---

<sup>177</sup> The early mechanic system is described with some nostalgic fondness in David Newhall Johnson’s 1880 *Sketches of Lynn, Or, The Changes of Fifty Years*, (Lynn: T.P. Nichols, 1880).

<sup>178</sup> Steven Bernard Leiken, *The Practical Utopians: American Workers and the Cooperative Movement in the Gilded Age*, (Detroit: Wayne State Press, 2005), 3.

<sup>179</sup> Lenger, “Class, Culture and Class Consciousness in *ante-bellum* Lynn: A Critique of Alan Dawley and Paul Faler,” 326, observes that publishers of *The Awl* in 1844-45 took their qualifications to publish for granted, while later labor publications are more apologetic about their shortcomings.

<sup>180</sup> *The Awl*, March 1, 1845, 2.

<sup>181</sup> *The Awl*, December 7, 1844, 3.

<sup>182</sup> *The Awl*, November 23, 1844, 2.

<sup>183</sup> Howard Zinn, *A People’s History of the United States: 1492-Present*, (New York: HarperCollins, 2003), 231 quotes an 1844 issue of *The Awl* as an intimation of the 1848 Communist Manifesto: “The division of society into the producing and the non-producing classes, and the fact of the unequal distribution of value between the two, introduces us at once to another distinction—that of capital and labor... labor now



female union activity as a branch of the wider movement for societal improvement. The first legal recognition of a labor union in Massachusetts came in 1842, when the state Supreme Court overturned a conspiracy conviction of Boston boot makers for pressuring an employer to hire only union members. Chief Justice Lemuel Shaw compared the group to a temperance organization and legitimated their right to collectively follow their conscience.<sup>184</sup>

In Lynn, the equivalence was well founded. William Fraser was the Secretary of the Mutual Benefit Society of Journeymen Cordwainers as well as the President of the Young Men's Total Abstinence Society.<sup>185</sup> Evangelical shoe workers were early recruits to abolitionism in Lynn, but shifting politics alienated labor from anti-slavery. Faler notes both racism and impatience with the paternalistic pieties of low-paying employers as reasons for the divide.<sup>186</sup> Still, church affiliation helped some to keep a foot in each movement as their political bases divided between the Whig/Republican and Democratic parties.<sup>187</sup>

Labor activists seeking higher wages condemned "wage slavery." In Philadelphia, the workers' newspaper *The Aurora* complained that, "at the very time that the state of the negro was about to be improved, attempts are being made to

---

becomes a commodity.... Antagonism and opposition of interest is introduced in the community; capital and labor stand opposed."

<sup>184</sup> Teresa Anne Murphy, *Ten Hours' Labor: Religion, Reform, and Gender in Early New England*, 2.

<sup>185</sup> Murphy, *Ten Hours' Labor*, 140. Fraser and his wife Caroline—early President of the Young Ladies Temperance Society—began their activist career in Methodist church circles and became come-outer Washingtonians. See p. 127.

<sup>186</sup> Faler, *Mechanics and Manufacturers*, 213.

<sup>187</sup> Ronald P. Formisano, *For the People: American Populist Movements from the Revolution to the 1850s*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008) 87-88 covers early abolitionism among evangelical Lynn workers as well as their continued participation in both abolitionist and labor causes.

reduce the [laboring] whites to slavery.”<sup>188</sup> Radical abolitionists rejected the move.<sup>189</sup> But the case was popular in Lynn. After the 1857 depression, many Lynn cordwainers who had lost their jobs were re-hired for lower wages. After unsuccessful protest, they began the largest antebellum strike in America Lynn on George Washington’s birthday in 1860.

Napoleon Wood, a Canadian-born abolitionist and Methodist lay leader, was one of the top three organizers of the strike. His declarations in favor of the action’s consistency with Christian faith suggest at least some skepticism among churchgoers. But some clergy supported it from the pulpit, and some local businesses donated to the strikers’ cause.<sup>190</sup> “One of the outstanding features of the strike was the breadth of support the journeymen and binders were able to evoke.”<sup>191</sup> It was also notable for the prominent participation, of women in a March 7 parade. Female binders marched through the snow under a banner reading,

“AMERICAN LADIES WILL NOT BE SLAVES!  
GIVE US A FAIR COMPENSATION AND WE WILL LABOR CHEERFULLY.”<sup>192</sup>

---

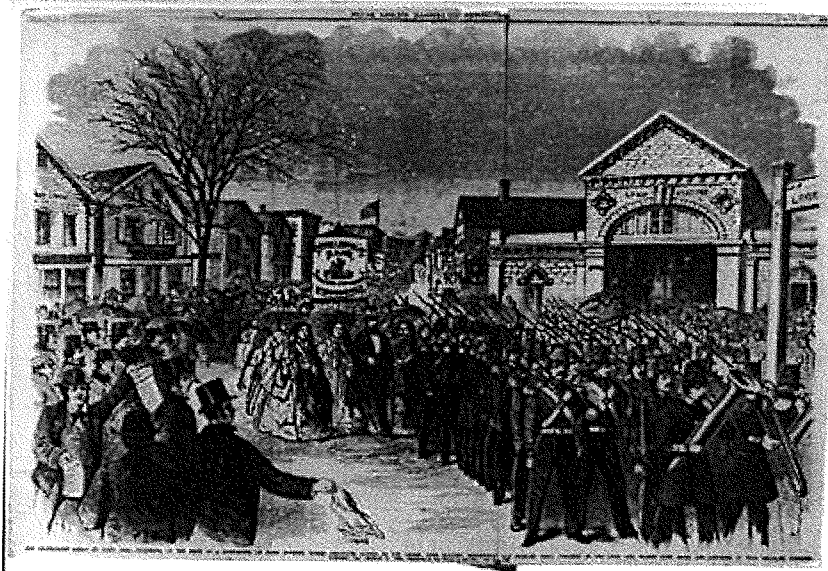
<sup>188</sup> Quoted in Paul D. Moreno, *Black Americans and Organized Labor: A New History*, (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2006), 12.

<sup>189</sup> Garrison placed “wage slavery” complaints in the “Refuge of Oppression” column of *The Liberator*. During the Civil War Frederick Douglass looked down on labor agitation, saying “no tolerably efficient white laborer could fail to find work.” Moreno, *Black Americans and Organized Labor*, 14, 17. Philadelphia was the second largest shoe manufacturing center in the country, though its economy was significantly more diversified than Lynn’s.

<sup>190</sup> Philip Sheldon Foner, *History of the Labor Movement in the United States, Vol. I: From Colonial Times to the Founding of the American Federation of Labor*. (New York: International Publishers Co., 1947), 241.

<sup>191</sup> Faler, *Mechanics and Manufacturers*, 228.

<sup>192</sup> Dawley, *Class and Community*, 82; *The New York Times* “The Bay State Strike: Movement Among the Women. Acts and Proceedings of Employers and Workers” February 29, 1860, recorded an earlier, smaller women’s march, noting the different constituencies of operatives and home-based workers, with common goal for a payment of eight cents per binding.



*The Ladies of Lynn March on Strike with the Militia, 1860.*<sup>193</sup>

The strike garnered modest wage increases and modest union recognition and was later celebrated for its “wonderfully small amount of violence, considering the magnitude of the interests supposed to be at stake.”<sup>194</sup> The political arm of the union, the Workingmen’s Party, won city elections in 1860 and 1861, but national politics dominated the era.<sup>195</sup> Candidate Abraham Lincoln gave the strikers qualified support,<sup>196</sup> and they happily returned the favor. Labor and business abolition joined in voting Republican, and former strikers turned out to “cram Lynn...for Lincoln and

---

<sup>193</sup> Image from Zinn, *A People’s History of the United States*, 231.

<sup>194</sup> Lewis and Newhall, *History of Lynn (1865)*, 459.

<sup>195</sup> Philip P. Paludan, “Industrial Workers and the Costs of War,” *The Civil War Era: An Anthology of Sources*, (Malden: Wiley Blackwell, 2005), 117-125, 123.

<sup>196</sup> Abraham Lincoln, Speech at New Haven, March 6, 1860. *The Writings of Abraham Lincoln, Volume 5: 1858-62*. (MobileReference). Without using the words ‘wage slavery,’ Lincoln used the concept to segue into an anti-slavery argument: “I like the system which lets a man quit when he wants to.” When the war began the next year, labor tensions had resurfaced, but a public speech by Parsons Cooke at First Church gave an impetus “to bury past differences and to stand for the Union.” George H. Martin, “The First Church of Christ in Lynn: A Short Descriptive Sketch,” (Lynn Historical Society, 1906).

for Hamlin.”<sup>197</sup>

The Civil War took some of Lynn’s sons, including the leader of the 1860 strike<sup>198</sup> and all three brothers of one Charles Carrol.<sup>199</sup> But the conflict was good to the city, far away from the battle. “When the soldiers marched, Lynn clothed their feet; and the steel-clad hoof of war smiting on the Lynn lap-stone struck forth here abundant sparks of prosperity.”<sup>200</sup> Between 1860 and 1900, the already growing population of Lynn increased three-fold. The shoe industry soared and crashed with the business cycle, attracting and sometimes trapping an increasingly diverse workforce drawn from a radius of hundreds of miles. Cordwainers’ work with tough leather exempted them from the wave of mechanization first found in garment sewing. In 1862, the McKay stitching machine pushed the process into leather and decreased level of skill the needed for sewing shoe parts.<sup>201</sup>

Unions fought the depressed wages that followed the introduction of technology and the eventual end of wartime demand. The most prominent early

---

<sup>197</sup> Quoted from the Republican *Appleton [Wisconsin] Motor*, July 19, 1860. They went on to declare, “The Southerners at us did sneer; And fiercely curse and ban Lynn; But wilder yet will be their fear; Of Lincoln and of Hamlin.” Artistic patricians Lewis and Newhall give a balanced picture with no verdict on the strike, but do helpfully offer that decreased production made it harder for the South to access shoes. *History of Lynn (1865)*, 460.

<sup>198</sup> Lewis and Newhall, *History of Lynn (1894)*, 20. Gen. Alonzo Draper, age 29, died from an apparent stray ball while stationed in Brazos de Santiago, Texas after the war on September 3, 1865.

<sup>199</sup> Walt Whitman, “The Soldiers,” *The New York Times* March 6, 1865. Entry dated Jan. 28.

[www.whitmanarchive.org/published/periodical/journalism/figures/per.00203.001.jpg](http://www.whitmanarchive.org/published/periodical/journalism/figures/per.00203.001.jpg)

<sup>200</sup> John Taylor Cumbler, *A Moral Response to Industrialism: The Lectures of Reverend Cook in Lynn, Massachusetts*, (Albany: SUNY Press, 1982), 17.

<sup>201</sup> Cumbler, *A Moral Response to Industrialism*, 5.

organization was the Knights of St. Crispin, a Wisconsin-founded shoe worker union that became the largest trade union in the country.<sup>202</sup> Its sister organization, the Daughters of St. Crispin, was centered in Lynn and represented the first national women's union. The Crispins were especially popular among the Irish, but included many native-born "Yankees," too.<sup>203</sup> They were widely popular, to the consternation of some clergy, as their network and social calendar posed a potential threat to church-based life.<sup>204</sup>

### **Rev. Joseph Cook's Solution?**

At the end of the war, a Congregationalist denominational study recognized that the growing gap between rich and poor in urban areas diminished church attendance, following similar trends in Europe.<sup>205</sup> The secularizing trends were never quite as stark as those in Europe,<sup>206</sup> but they were noticeable enough to warrant action. Joseph Cook, the new minister at First Church gained a public forum to address the challenge when the church building burned in 1870. Services were temporarily moved to the much larger Music Hall, and he decided to host an evening

---

<sup>202</sup> Don Divance Lesochier, *The Knights of St. Crispin 1867-1874: A Study in the Causes of Trade Unionism*, (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin, 1912), 5.

<sup>203</sup> Jay P. Dolan, "Toward a Social Gospel," Robert R. Mathiesen, ed. *Critical Issues in American Religious History: A Reader*, (Waco: Baylor University Press, 2001), 472-84, 378.

<sup>204</sup> Dawley, *Class and Community*, 27 describes the picnics and fairs that the labor order was able to sustain in its heyday, creating a comprehensive alternative to church life.

<sup>205</sup> Cumber, *A Moral Response to Industrialism*, 1-2.

<sup>206</sup> Robert Wuthnow and Tracy L. Scott, "Protestants and Economic Behavior," 260-295 in Harry S. Stout and D.G. Hart, eds. *New Directions in American Religious History*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 271. "While workers in Lyon sang the Marseillaise and remembered the French Revolution, those in Lynn sang hymns and remembered revival."

lecture series on the moral dangers of the industrial system through the Spring of 1871.<sup>207</sup>

First Church was middle class. The industrialists were Quakers, Episcopalians, or Baptists. Most Catholics were working class, and both Methodist and Baptist churches were economically diverse.<sup>208</sup> Cook, a young authority figure at the tail end of the Civil War, had an individualistic but regimented approach to morality. Most observers have understandably criticized Cook for his condescension. His desire for the church was to “set fashions for the upper ranks among leaders of business that is for the best men in it.”<sup>209</sup> He worried that the factory system created a “hereditary ignorant and unemployed class,” and not-so-subtly suggested that female factory workers carried venereal disease.<sup>210</sup> Cook stirred particular controversy with the claim that one factory he had visited made virtuous work impossible for men “because the girls were so bad.”<sup>211</sup> The pastor’s exact words were not recorded, but the popular impression, vigorously asserted by the manufacturers’ counter-lecture, was that the New York transplant was maligning the workers in New Block on Oxford Street. Among those workers were young Irish Catholic members of the “floating population”—temporary boarders and factory workers—that Cook so distrusted. Father Patrick Strain at the Catholic

---

<sup>207</sup> Cumbler, *A Moral Response to Industrialism*, 2.

<sup>208</sup> Cumbler, *A Moral Response to Industrialism*, 16.

<sup>209</sup> Cumbler, *A Moral Response to Industrialism*, 17.

<sup>210</sup> Cumbler, *A Moral Response to Industrialism*, 18, 68.

<sup>211</sup> Joseph Cook, Lecture 1, quoted in Cumbler, *A Moral Response to Industrialism*, 30. The moralistic tone was not a disqualifier for Crispins, who sought “wholesome moral regulations to be observed in the workshops of the city.” Blewett, *Men, Women, and Work*, 185. They did, however, object to employers giving bad recommendations on the grounds of moral character.

Church reacted angrily. "Soulless must be the man," he said, who would so insult the "poor, honest, industrious, defenseless girls."<sup>212</sup>

Still, Cook gained popularity with the middle class, appreciation and alliance from many workers, and even agreement in broad points from Fr. Strain, among other clergy.<sup>213</sup> Though he recognized his outsiders' approach to the labor movement, his Sabbatarianism was as much about days off from work as about church attendance: "These dead, backward, mossy churches are said by some to have no sympathy with working men. But they put Sunday on the statute-book, and keep it there, the only day of rest working men have."<sup>214</sup>

His moral argument resonated with many in the city, as with the worker who rejected Knights of St. Crispin and liked Cook because he was "opposed to a monopoly of muscle just as much as to a monopoly of money."<sup>215</sup> In between the two, Cook proposed "The church, which holds both rich and poor, ... as a means of allaying prejudice and securing mutual understanding." The church bears "the same relations to the different classes in society at large, as the Industrial Board of Arbitration or Conference." In short, "the chasm between capital and labor...can be bridged only by the Bible laid on the buttresses of the Sunday and Common Schools."<sup>216</sup>

Some of Cook's popular appeal also stemmed from his newcomers'

---

<sup>212</sup> *Lynn Semi-Weekly Reports*, February 11, 1871. Cook was also suspicious of Catholicism's moral influence, saying that if (Protestant) upstate New York did not govern (Catholic) New York City, it would be "ungovernable except by martial law" (Lecture 9).

<sup>213</sup> Joseph Cook, Lecture 5, quoted in Cumbler, *A Moral Response to Industrialism*, 75.

<sup>214</sup> Joseph Cook, Lecture 4, quoted in Cumbler, *A Moral Response to Industrialism*, 72.

<sup>215</sup> Cumbler, *A Moral Response to Industrialism*, 27.

<sup>216</sup> Joseph Cook, Lecture 4, quoted in Cumbler, *A Moral Response to Industrialism*, 72.

willingness to accept the balance of labor and capital as it stood during his two year tenure. The Crispins were at their high-water mark in 1870-71. Cook may have been paternalistic toward workers, but he was also happy to make moral demands of the manufacturers. Most of the resistance he received came from factory owners.<sup>217</sup> A failed 1872 strike would destroy the national Crispins union. It revived locally for a successful 1875 strike, and then spawned the Lasters' Protective Union and Knights of Labor.<sup>218</sup> Cook, who would return to Tremont Temple in Boston for a long-lived and popular speaking series, had given middle class churches a moral vision for outreach to the working classes, but had not fully bridged the class divide inside them.

### **Matzeliger the Inventor**

By the end of the decade, the battle to keep women out of the factories had let up. At South Street Methodist Episcopal Church, seven out of the twenty women married from 1884-85 were factory operatives, and the husbands of six also had professions in the shoe industry.<sup>219</sup>

---

<sup>217</sup> The organizer of the counter-lecture was Samuel Bubier, a city politician and owner of several factories. In addition to Cook's desire to close down pubs and the theatre, his demands of the establishment included keeping female and child laborers away from liquor and cursing, establishing a city missionary, and alleviating the burden faced by boarders having to purchase supplies in smaller, more expensive packages. Cumbler, *A Moral Response to Industrialism*, 65-66; 84-85.

<sup>218</sup> Dawley, *Class and Community*, 188-89.

<sup>219</sup> Pastoral Records of South Street Methodist Episcopal Church. Boston University School of Theology Archives.



In about 1880, two female operatives, Enna Jordan and Bessie Lee, became good friends with a new worker, Jan Ernst Matzeliger.<sup>220</sup> Matzeliger was one of the city's most active lay church members, most famous shoe industry inventors, and most fascinating adopted sons.



Matzeliger was born in 1852 to a white Dutch government industrialist and a black slave in Dutch Guiana.<sup>221</sup> Matzeliger received some technical training as an apprentice in his father's shop, and left home at 19, working as a sailor before landing in Philadelphia where, though handicapped by race and language, he found

---

<sup>220</sup> Dennis Karwatka, "Against All Odds: Jan Matzeliger, a poor black immigrant, struggled alone to become an inventor and in the early 1880s succeeded in devising a machine that revolutionized the industry," 70-75, *Invention & Technology*, 6:3 (1991), 73. Matzeliger's will designates a teachers' Bible and two watercolors to Jordan. (Copy of Last Will of Jan Ernst Matzeliger, forwarded to First Church by the Lynn Museum January 5, 2005, p. 3).

<sup>221</sup> "Jan Ernst Matzeliger: Van Slavenkind in Suriname tot uitvinder in Nrd. Amerika 1852-1889" *de Wave Tijd* Oct 6, 1958.

shoe work and learned to operate a McKay stitching machine.<sup>222</sup> In 1876, in the midst of a depression with seventy percent African American unemployment in Philadelphia, he came to Lynn.<sup>223</sup>

Though his father's homeland was known for its Calvinist theology, Matzeliger was a somewhat unwilling Congregationalist in Lynn. He had gained faith in Christ through the influence of a friend in Philadelphia,<sup>224</sup> and always wore a lapel pin reading, "Safe in Jesus."<sup>225</sup> Possibly because of experiences in Philadelphia, Matzeliger had never invested much in African American life in Lynn, and there is no record of his having attempted to join the African Methodist Episcopal Church.<sup>226</sup> He first visited the Catholic Church, but "was told by the priest, 'We want no niggers here.'" At the Episcopal Church he was similarly rebuffed.<sup>227</sup> Young people at North Congregational Church invited him into their fellowship. At least one North Church leader was unhappy about the new congregant, but Matzeliger would amply repay the kindness of the church's youth. He became a popular Bible study and Sunday School leader, encouraging his students to go into the ministry, and even paying Augustine Maxwell's tuition at Amherst for that purpose.<sup>228</sup>

---

<sup>222</sup> Karwatka, "Against All Odds," 70.

<sup>223</sup> Karwatka, "Against All Odds," 71.

<sup>224</sup> Maurice A. Mahler, "J.E. Matzeliger," Presented at the Whiting Club, January 28, 1969. 1<sup>st</sup> Church of Christ, Congregational Trinitarian Archives, 1.

<sup>225</sup> Robert Steele, First Church Historian, Letter to Barbara Mitchell regarding Jan Ernst Matzeliger, 1969.

<sup>226</sup> Karwatka, "Against All Odds," 72.

<sup>227</sup> Mahler, "J.E. Matzeliger," 2. Rev. Mahler, Matzeliger's embarrassed Congregational biographer, explains away this initial approach to Rome: "His knowledge of denominations was small."

<sup>228</sup> Mahler, "J.E. Matzeliger," 3.

How was a black immigrant laborer with poor English, arriving in Lynn during a massive depression, able to afford another man's tuition? When Matzeliger first gained employment as a stitching machine operator, he took an interest in the process of lasting, or attaching finished shoe uppers to their soles. In 1880, having studied the hand motions of lasters, he made a crude mechanical lasting machine, but turned down an offer of \$1,500 for the design.<sup>229</sup> His first patent application in 1883 was so complex the patent office had to send agents in person to understand it. Lasting capacity for a skilled operator went from 60 to 700 pairs of shoes per day. Matzeliger finally sold rights to his patent to his rapidly growing Consolidated Hand-Method Lasting Machine Company for \$15,000. Shoe manufacturers used the final version until the mid-1920's.<sup>230</sup>

Matzeliger's inventiveness extended to artwork and patenting a toggle-spear harpoon. He taught painting in addition to Bible study. "Oils and water colors of ships and the sea were given as wedding gifts and presents—and highly cherished."<sup>231</sup> Sadly, he caught a cold at a North Church picnic in 1886 that would lead to his death from tuberculosis three years later at age 37. His will directed dispositions to a wide variety of individuals from coworkers and friends to his physician and landlord. North Church received stock, which it later used to pay off a major debt, and the balance of his personal wealth. The balance was to aid the "Christian poor of said Lynn, irrespective of religious denominations or societies, except that it shall not knowingly be given or expended for any member of the

---

<sup>229</sup> Reasons and Patrick, "They Had a Dream: Jan E. Matzeliger, Inventor of the Lasting Machine," *Boston Sunday Advertiser*, April 6, 1969, 44.

<sup>230</sup> Karwatka, "Against All Odds," 75.

<sup>231</sup> Mahler, "J.E. Matzeliger," 3.

Roman Catholic, Unitarian, and Episcopal Churches.”<sup>232</sup> Whether the limitation was theological or a based in his experience of prejudice, we do not know.

Amazingly, the Lasters’ Protective Union lasted well beyond the introduction of Matzeliger’s machine.<sup>233</sup> Shoe production continued to rise, reaching its peak in the twentieth century at twenty million. In 1883, the Thomson Huston Electric Company—General Electric—located in Lynn and created a new field of work for both Lynners and migrants. In 1889 the Great Fire placed industry, labor, church, and city together as the city was forced to rebuild after extensive loss.<sup>234</sup> An explicit attempt to bring labor and church together came with the Christian Socialism of Herbert Casson, who founded the Labor Church in Lynn in 1894.<sup>235</sup> But the movement did not expand. Labor organizations remained highly active into the twentieth century, but workers’ relationship to churches was as varied as the labor ideologies, church theologies, and the Lynners who lived among them.

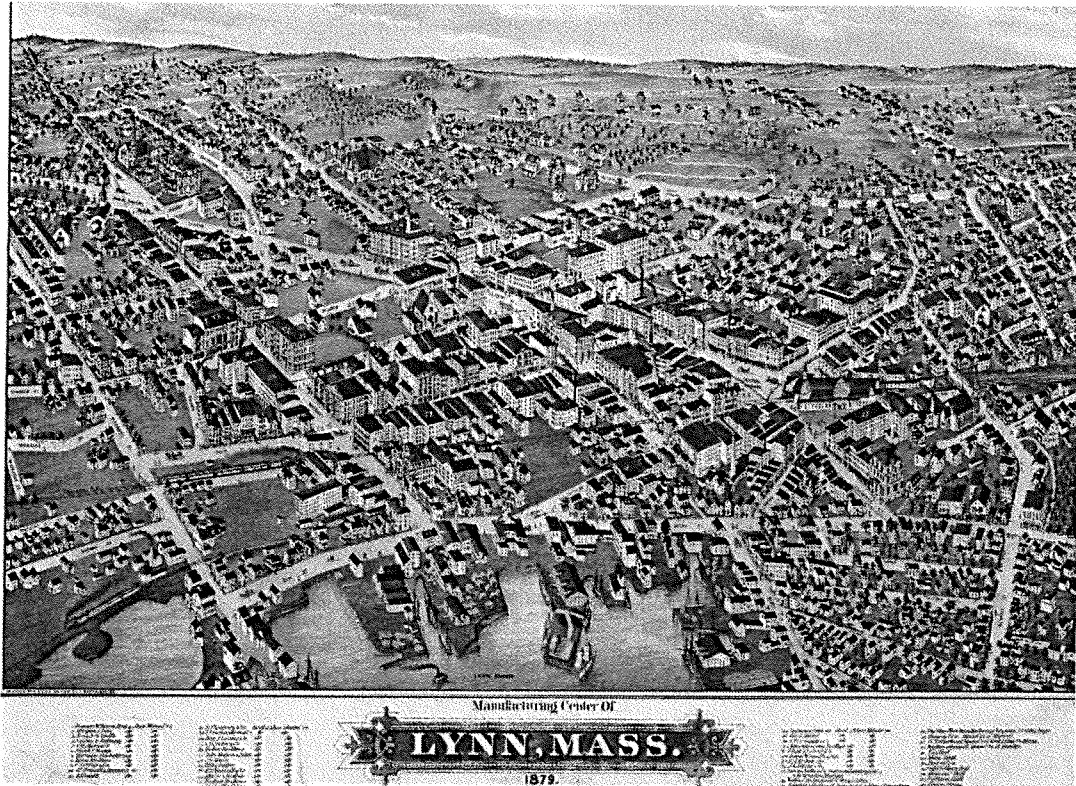
---

<sup>232</sup> Last Will of Jan Ernst Matzeliger, 13.

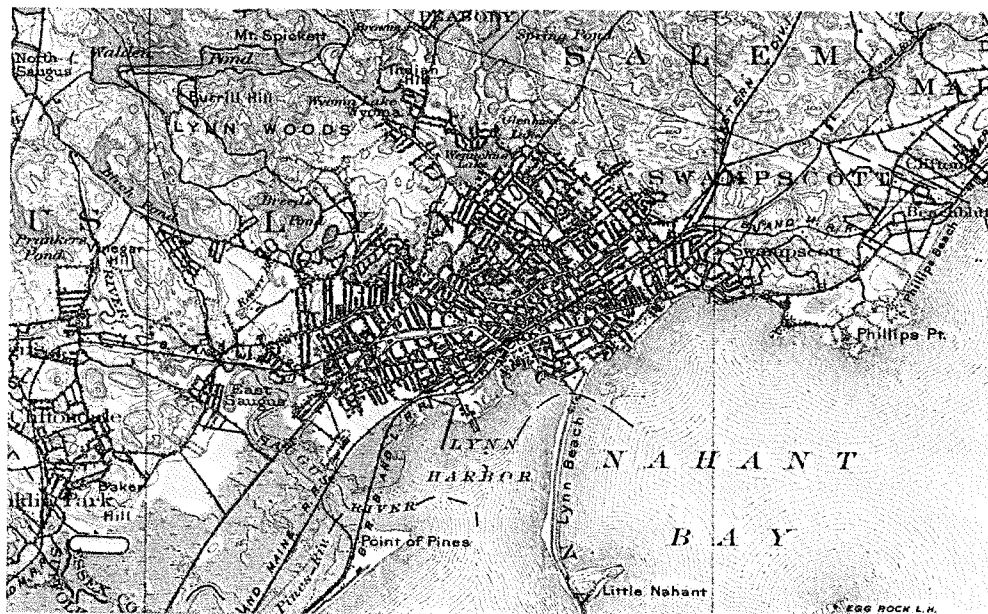
<sup>233</sup> Dawley, *Class and Community*, 212.

<sup>234</sup> Bill Conway and Diane Shepherd, *The Great Fires of Lynn*, (Charleston, SC: Arcadia, 2006), Ch. 2, “The Great Fire of 1889.”

<sup>235</sup> Blewett, *Men, Women, and Work*, 421.



1879 Map Focusing on the Downtown Triangle Between Market St. and Central Ave.<sup>236</sup>



The North Shore in an 1898-1900 Survey<sup>237</sup>

<sup>236</sup> O.H. Bailey and J.C. Hazen, "Manufacturing Center of Lynn, Massachusetts, 1879," Lynn: 1879. Image. maps.bpl.org/id/10178.

<sup>237</sup> H.M. Wilson, Geographer, "Boston & Vicinity, MA." U.S. Geological Survey, 1903.

## Chapter Four

### Grafting in and Growing Up New People, “New” Denominations, and a Shared Task

“It will also prove a way of continuing to do good for many a year after your hands are cold and still.”

- Rev. Louis DeCormis, 1879<sup>238</sup>

In a 1907 address to the Congregational First Church of Christ in Lynn, Rev. Frank Padelford of Washington Street Baptist Church recalled three eras through which the church in Lynn had grown. The first was that of “bitter animosity and hatred,” when each body thought the other “an enemy to the truth and to Christ.” The second era saw passions calmed, but churches standing at suspicious distance from one another. In the third, “we gladly recognize each other as brethren because we are children of a common Father, living a common life, seeking to do a common work.” However, such common work was still a challenge, as no more than a tenth of the population were full members of the churches.<sup>239</sup> Church membership had never been particularly high, even in the cold early springtime of animosity and hatred. But more people attended church than covenanted with churches, and as Padelford pointed out, churches continued to be highly influential when they wanted to be.<sup>240</sup>

---

<sup>238</sup> Louis DeCormis, “Letter to Hon. Enoch Mudge,” *Correspondence of Rev. Dr. DeCormis and Hon. E.R. Mudge*. August 27, 1879. St. Stephen’s Memorial Episcopal Church Archive.

<sup>239</sup> Frank W. Padelford, “Address on Behalf of Sister Churches,” *Celebration of the 275<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the First Church of Christ, Lynn, Massachusetts*, 97-98.

<sup>240</sup> Padelford, “Address on Behalf of Sister Churches,” 98. See also James R. Newhall, *Centennial Memorial of Lynn, Essex County, Massachusetts: Embracing an Historical Sketch, 1629-1876*, (Lynn: City Council, 1876), 115, detailing the 32 clergymen shepherding a city of 32,000 citizens.

Lynn's population skyrocketed after the Civil War. Factory owners and newly arrived laborers alike grew in proximity and density as they struggled to navigate boom-bust cycles, fires, and each other. The churches acted on their beliefs and the needs around them, and reacted to each other. But they were indeed more genteel than they had been the controversial activist 1830s and 1840s. This friendlier era had begun with a new round of spiritual vigor. The Baptist denomination planted its second congregation in 1854, and several more as the century progressed. And the Congregational Society, so much involved in controversy when the population was small, gained a new spiritual vigor, planting new congregations and providing Joseph Cook's moral leadership amid rapid social change.

As the spiritual ligaments of love began to connect the body of Christ in Lynn from mid-century onward, one sticky question remained. How would the Protestant church and its offshoots react to the Catholic Church in Lynn?

### **Patrick Strain and the Rise of Catholic Church**

On May 30, 1859 John Bernard Fitzpatrick, Roman Catholic Bishop of the Diocese of Boston, commented in his journal on the universally positive reception given the previous day's dedication ceremonies at Church of the Holy Name of Jesus in Chicopee: "The inconsistency of Protestants! ... Their senses are gratified, the eyes by the sights, the ears by fine sounds and that is enough." Yet Protestant inconsistency was not always so gratified. The journal continues, "The Bp learns by

telegraph today from Rev. Mr. Strain that the catholic church in Lynn was set on fire about midnight Saturday last and wholly consumed.”<sup>241</sup>

That structure, now dead at 68, had cut a wide swath through Lynn’s religious and social life. Parsons Cooke records that it was the original home of the First Methodist Society, visited by Francis Asbury in 1791. When the Methodists upgraded to their new sanctuary, the building briefly adopted the martial spirit of the War of 1812 era, becoming a political reading room on Methodist property. “Its next service was to cradle the infancy of the Baptist church, and our parish sold the land for its site as a Baptist church. Afterwards it was used many years as a school house.” The Second Universalist Society held its first meetings there in 1836 for all of two weeks before the floor of the upstairs meeting room fell over a foot at the weight of the new congregants. (The new Society procured another meeting hall on West Common.<sup>242</sup>) By Cooke’s writing in 1855, he adds, with disapproval but without apparent plans for arson, “Then it came into the possession of the Irish Romanists, who are remodelling it for future centuries.”<sup>243</sup>

Both the Puritans and the Quakers of Lynn’s founding distrusted the Catholic Church. So much so that they distrusted the Church of England in part because of its rigid enforcement of practices they regarded as “Romanist.” By the mid-1800s, both English intolerance of Puritans and the two wars against England were distant

---

<sup>241</sup> Bishop’s Journal, Vol. IV. Monday, May 30, 1859.

<sup>242</sup> Sylvanus Cobb, *Autobiography of the First Forty One Years of the Life of Sylvanus Cobb, D.D.* (Boston: Universalist Publishing House; Rockwell & Rollins, 1867), 205.

<sup>243</sup> Cooke, *Centuries*, 236-37. The culprit was never identified, nor was strictly religious motive claimed—likely the bile was lavished more heavily on *Irish* than on *Romanist*—but few doubted foul play. *Municipal History of Essex County* (below, 436-37) agrees that the fire was “generally believed to be of incendiary origin.”



memories. An American Episcopal Church had, after two false starts, finally established itself in the form of St. Stephen's in 1844. Yet Catholicism, and the Irish immigrants who adhered to it, were foreign enough that most native-born Americans remained aloof.

The first recorded Catholic mass in Lynn was said in a private home on Waterhill St. in West Lynn in 1835.<sup>244</sup> Irish Catholics started trickling into town in 1836 to work, and then commute, on the Eastern Railroad.<sup>245</sup> In 1841, Rev. Charles Smith of Chelsea took on Lynn as a mission of the parish. Within five years identifiably Catholic gravestones appeared in the Old Burial Ground.<sup>246</sup> And in ten years 300 parishioners were in the mission church.<sup>247</sup> By 1890 the church-going Catholic population had increased to 3,000, with twelve full-time priests in ministry.<sup>248</sup>

The Irish in Lynn, as in Boston and throughout the state and the country, labored under suspicions about their religion, their moral status, and their national loyalties. The nativist and anti-Catholic Know-Nothing Party won local elections in

---

<sup>244</sup> "Catholic History (Lynn)," 437-46, in Benjamin F. Arrington, Ed., *Municipal History of Essex County, Massachusetts* (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company), 437.

<sup>245</sup> George H. Martin, "The Unfolding of Religious Faith in Lynn" A Paper Read Before the Lynn Historical Society, March 14, 1912., 28.

<sup>246</sup> "Tombstone Inscriptions from the Old Burying Ground, Lynn, Essex, Massachusetts," trans. John T. Moulton. The inscription reads "I. H. S. In Memory of David Goggin, who died June 12, 1846. AET. 35." The Catholic cemeteries of St. Mary's and St. Joseph's were founded in 1858 and 1879, respectively. Available at [files.usgarchives.net/ma/essex/towns/lynn/cemeteries/oldburying.txt](http://files.usgarchives.net/ma/essex/towns/lynn/cemeteries/oldburying.txt).

<sup>247</sup> "Catholic History (Lynn)," 437-46, in Benjamin F. Arrington, Ed., *Municipal History of Essex County, Massachusetts* (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company), 437.

<sup>248</sup> "Very Rev. Patrick Strain: New England's First Monsignor and Chaplain to the Holy Father," *Sacred Heart Review*, February 22, 1890, 1.

Lynn as in many places throughout the state in 1854.<sup>249</sup> In the pre-war years, the Irish had been caught in a political bind. The Democratic Party, with its distrust for England was the most hospitable political refuge for Irish immigrants and the best choice for employment networking. But until the 1860 election, even Northern Democrats either supported slavery or resisted abolition, while the still-respected Irish statesman Daniel O’Connell was an ardent, almost Garrisonian foe of slavery.<sup>250</sup> In addition, the northern competition for jobs between immigrants and blacks—both real and imagined—dimmed Irish sympathies for immediate abolition.<sup>251</sup> Neither stance—support for a foreign statesman who insulted slaveholding American diplomats or sympathy for Southern states appearing more and more willing to secede—appeared “loyal” to American Whig and Republican abolitionist Protestants.

Over time, the same Rev. Mr. Patrick Strain who telegraphed the bishop with unfortunate news in 1859 would, with perseverance rather than pageantry, earn the appreciation of Lynners of all religious convictions. “The fanatics assailed him, but the indomitable priest stood like a rock.”<sup>252</sup>

---

<sup>249</sup> John R. Mulkern, *The Know-Nothing Party in Massachusetts: The Rise and Fall of a People’s Movement*, (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1990), 69.

<sup>250</sup> John F. Quinn, “Expecting the Impossible? Abolitionist Appeals to the Irish in Antebellum America” *The New England Quarterly* LXXXII no. 4 (December 2009), 670-71. William Lloyd Garrison’s newspaper *The Liberator*, begun in 1831, was in fact named in honor of O’Connell and the name he won for himself advocating for Catholic Liberation in Britain. Though O’Connell was eventually among the many who distanced himself from Garrison’s anti-Sabbatarianism, he never spared American politicians whom he viewed as having slaves’ blood on their hands.

<sup>251</sup> Moreno, *Black Americans and Organized Labor*, 17.

<sup>252</sup> “Very Rev. Patrick Strain,” *Sacred Heart Review*, 2.

Strain was singularly prepared for pastoral duty in New England. He was born into only Catholic family in Banbridge in northern Ireland. Though toughened by religious prejudice, he knew it was not universal, having studied as a boy under a talented and generous Presbyterian pastor and schoolmaster. His later Catholic training included Sulpician Seminary in Paris, the French from which armed the Lynn parish for a later influx of Quebecois Catholic laborers. Strain was appointed at the onset of Know-Nothing agitation, in 1851. He was designated as the priest in charge of Chelsea and Lynn, plus the seasonal chapel in Nahant. He then moved from Chelsea to Lynn with the creation of separate parishes for the cities in 1867.<sup>253</sup>

Following the 1859 fire, the Catholics adopted the habit of Lynn's periodically fire-displaced churchgoers and rented out Lyceum Hall until finishing the impressive Gothic structure for St. Mary's on South Common Street in 1862.<sup>254</sup> (For at least the next three years, it remained "still the finest building in Lynn.")<sup>255</sup> When a second parish was created in 1874, the new St. Joseph's flock bridged the Reformation divide and rented from the Congregationalists at Central Church on Silsbee Street as they waited on their building on Union Street.<sup>256</sup>

Even with the benefit of St. Joseph's and of Fr. Strain's French facility, overwhelming immigration created the need for a third parish in 1886. St. Jean Baptiste Catholic Church ministered to the French speakers among the many

---

<sup>253</sup> "Very Rev. Patrick Strain," *Sacred Heart Review*, 2.

<sup>254</sup> "Very Rev. Patrick Strain," 2.

<sup>255</sup> Lewis & Newhall, *History of Lynn*, 1897.

<sup>256</sup> "Catholic History" in Arrington, ed. *Municipal History*, 440.

Canadians migrating south to work in the shoe business.<sup>257</sup> French Canadians provoked a new round of nativism, but their intra-Catholic divisions with the by-now more “American” Irish slowly helped to ease worries about Catholic loyalties.<sup>258</sup>

Anti-Catholic sentiment in the United States lasted well into the twentieth century, but Fr. Strain and his flock gained a measure of respect in Lynn with time and familiarity. In 1873, Strain had eagerly reported to the Diocese that, “We have no parochial schools as yet but I am on a number of the school boards.”<sup>259</sup> Finally, in 1880, Lynn received its first parochial school—St. Mary’s—and its first nuns as instructors. By 1900, thirty percent of the city was Roman Catholic, and the Catholics enjoyed commensurate honors at the semi-centennial of Lynn’s incorporation.<sup>260</sup>

---

<sup>257</sup> “Very Rev. Patrick Strain,” 2. In 1885, there were 685 French Canadians in Lynn. In 1895, there were 1,719, and in 1905, 3,186. Ronald Arthur Petrin, *French Canadians in Massachusetts Politics, 1885-1915: Ethnicity and Political Pragmatism*, (Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Presses, 1990), 170.

<sup>258</sup> Petrin, *French Canadians in Massachusetts Politics, 1885-1915*, 40.

<sup>259</sup> Statistical Returns of the Church of St. Mary’s Lynn for the year ending December 31, 1872. Archdiocese of Boston Archives.

<sup>260</sup> *City of Lynn, Massachusetts Semi-Centennial of Incorporation*, 54.



VERY REV. MONSIGNOR STRAIN, P. R., AND MISS. APOS., LYNN.

*Strain's Magisterial Image in 1890*<sup>261</sup>

### **The Episcopal Church**

In New England before the Revolutionary War, the Church of England tended to be a Tory and Loyalist affiliation.<sup>262</sup> Into the nineteenth century, the Episcopal Church, with its sophisticated liturgy and religious symbolism, continued to be most appealing to the wealthy establishment than to farmers and workers, who found more appeal in the blunt sincerity of revivalist preachers and who still distrusted

---

<sup>261</sup> "Very Rev. Patrick Strain," 1.

<sup>262</sup> This was not, of course, universally true, but see James B. Bell, *A War of Religion: Dissenters, Anglicans, and the American Revolution*, (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2008).

Episcopalian liturgy, if not Episcopalian national loyalty.<sup>263</sup> Thus we see Salem's Episcopal Church, built on a wealthy merchant's land in 1733 and still functioning.<sup>264</sup> Lynn, without a harbor, lacked the ongoing English connections of Salem or Boston, and both economy and church developed on a domestic trajectory.

Still, "It strikes one as a little remarkable that for more than a century and three quarters no attempt was made to establish an Episcopal Church in Lynn."<sup>265</sup> After the first failed experiment,<sup>266</sup> the next incarnation, named Christ Church waited fourteen more years. Organized in 1834 and incorporated in 1836, Christ Church straddled the first Catholic mass in Lynn. It made early contributions to Christian service, sending its first pastor David Grafton as a missionary in 1837. But it fell under the weight of financial obligations in 1841.<sup>267</sup> Wealthy summer residents of Nahant rescued the denominational cause after three years with the

---

<sup>263</sup> See Gardiner H. Shattuck, Jr., and David Hein, *The Episcopalians*, (New York: Church Publishing, Inc., 2005); And with a more particular doctrinal focus, see Diana B. Bass, *Standing Against the Whirlwind: Evangelical Episcopalians in Nineteenth Century America*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995).

<sup>264</sup> St. Peter~San Pedro Episcopal Church, "History of St. Peter's" [www.stpeterssalem.org/about.htm](http://www.stpeterssalem.org/about.htm)

<sup>265</sup> "Historical Address by Hon. James R. Newhall, One of the Vestry, On Whitsunday Evening, May 16, 1880." *Memorial of St. Stephen's Parish, Lynn, Mass*, 1882, 9.

<sup>266</sup> See Ch. 1 on St. John's, a short-lived Episcopal society established in 1819, and disbanded when its lay reader was found to be unorthodox. Most, though not all, of its members became Unitarian.

<sup>267</sup> Record of Clergy at Christ Church Lynn, written 1876. St. Stephen's Memorial Episcopal Archives. Interestingly, one of the five original organizers was Alonzo Lewis, who applied for study toward the priesthood in 1833, but did not pursue it. *Memorial of St. Stephen's Parish, Lynn, Mass*. Lynn: Printed by order of the Vestry, 1882, 27.

establishment of St. Stephen's and the re-purchase of Christ Church's old building, the "little black church" on North Common.<sup>268</sup>

Episcopal life began to flourish in the final quarter of the century. In a faint echo of Methodism's introduction, one Mr. Johnson<sup>269</sup> invited a new pastor to come from his temporary station in Boston to preach in Lynn. The pastor, Dr. Louis DeCormis was initially discouraged. The little black church was the "shabbiest" and the congregation the smallest that he had seen.<sup>270</sup> The effects of the depression that began in 1873 were still being felt, and "Everybody was feeling pessimistic and prophesying all sorts of dreadful things....that [Lynn] has seen its best days and must now decline. All this of course was mere rubbish, but I heard it on every hand."<sup>271</sup> DeCormis later offered a tantalizing window into ecumenical relations in fond recollection of his ten year tenure in Lynn:

"I was not at all sorry that I had come. I was quite determined to work hard in such a live place, especially as there were such stimulating workers in the ministry all around me. There was my scholarly brother Stewart at the Unitarian Church, the spiritually-minded Barton at 1<sup>st</sup> Congregational, the sterling Brackett at the Baptist, the amiable and popular Biddle at the 1<sup>st</sup> Universalist, the alert Currier at the Central, the aggressive Hill at the 1<sup>st</sup> Methodist, and good Fr. Strain at St. Mary's."<sup>272</sup>

---

<sup>268</sup> "The Church Begins in Lynn," *One Hundred Years of Christian Service: 1844-1944*. St. Stephen's Memorial Church, Lynn, MA, 1944, 2. The "little black church" was so named for its dearth of natural lighting.

<sup>269</sup> The December 1875 invitation to Dr. DeCormis came from William Johnson, while the December 1791 invitation to Jesse Lee came from Benjamin Johnson.

<sup>270</sup> "The Church Begins in Lynn," 2.

<sup>271</sup> DeCormis, First Sermon in the New St. Stephen's Episcopal Memorial Church, 1882

<sup>272</sup> Louis DeCormis, "The 'Memorial' Church in Lynn—Its Story" *Delivered in Lynn, under the auspices of the Men's Club of St. Stephen's Parish, Wednesday May 10, 1904.*, 21. One especially wonders what qualifies a minister as "alert."

Initially, some of DeCormis' discouragement came from Enoch Redington Mudge, a wealthy Boston businessman living in Swampscott. But Mudge and DeCormis developed a strong bond in the ensuing seven years. Mudge's mother Lydia and father, also named Enoch, were among the first Lynn Methodist converts in 1791 and charter members of the First Methodist Episcopal Society. Enoch Sr. was licensed as an itinerant Methodist preacher. Though most of his career was spent in New Bedford, he is known for the morally urgent "Lynn: A Poem," and he returned to his home town six years before his death in 1850.<sup>273</sup>

Enoch Jr. was born in a Methodist parsonage in Maine in 1812 and spent most of his life in business, losing and making fortunes in New Orleans and New York before returning to Massachusetts. His son, Col. Charles Redington Mudge, had died on the battlefield at Gettysburg. And his pious daughter urged him from before DeCormis' arrival to "do something for St. Stephen's."<sup>274</sup>

It was the priest DeCormis who finally baptized the minister's son.<sup>275</sup> Enoch Mudge Redington returned the spiritual favor temporally, funding the construction of the beautiful St. Stephen's Memorial Episcopal Church on South Common. Having

---

<sup>273</sup> James Mudge, *History of the New England Conference*, 36, 46. Enoch Mudge was not the Methodist pastor who offended Frederick Douglass with segregated communion. That was Isaac Bonney at Elm Street. While the Douglass family was in New Bedford, Enoch Sr., an ardent abolitionist, was stationed at the Seaman's Bethel chapel, where he may have been an inspiration for Fr. Mapple in *Moby Dick*. Michael J. Davey, ed. *Herman Melville's Moby Dick: A Routledge Study Guide and Sourcebook*, (New York: Routledge, 2004), 137. The Mudge story, and its connection with Douglass, is explored in David Migliaccio, "Mudge" for the IUPUI NEH Summer Institute, "The Many and The One: Religion, Pluralism, and American History," July 12-30, 2010, Indianapolis, IN. [raac.iupui.edu/files/8513/6666/4158/Migliaccio.pdf](http://raac.iupui.edu/files/8513/6666/4158/Migliaccio.pdf)

<sup>274</sup> "The Making of St. Stephen's Parish in Lynn, Massachusetts: 1844-1969," *One Hundred Years of Christian Service: 1844-1944*. (Lynn: St. Stephen's Memorial Church, 1944), 7.

<sup>275</sup> DeCormis, "The 'Memorial' Church in Lynn—Its Story," 34.



been convinced of the desirability of a beautiful space for the worship of God, Mudge hurried the construction at personal expense so that his ailing wife would be able to see it. Sadly, it was Mudge himself who died shortly before the consecration, and his funeral was the first service in the church whose name memorialized his fallen son.<sup>276</sup>

When DeCormis was requested to leave in favor of a more dynamic preacher in 1885, indignant loyalists departed to “the ample field in the eastern section of the city,” where they started Church of the Incarnation, and both met with success for the duration of the century.<sup>277</sup>

### **The Ecumenical Era**

In 1855, the doctrinally conservative Rev. Parsons Cooke at First Church had certainly not abandoned the Calvinist’s suspicions of Methodism. Yet even such a pro-Puritan controversialist conceded the truth of some stereotypes against his forbears. He quotes, with some sympathy, the underwhelmed journal of Joseph Lye from the interim between Revs. Thatcher and Rockwood: “Feb. 22, 1818. Attended public worship at the old meeting—sermon by Mr. Morse, son of Dr. Morse of Charlestown: it was the true essence of Calvinism—very uncharitable—not

---

<sup>276</sup> St. Stephen’s Memorial Episcopal historian Chris Trehan explains the process in LynnCamTV’s *Historic Lynn: Episode 3*, May 22, 2012.

[www.youtube.com/watch?v=rXH3hGFO2Lg](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rXH3hGFO2Lg). DeCormis laid out his vision for new construction and for the parish in a letter dated August 27, 1879, and appends an explanatory note about the emotional high of Mudge’s decision to support the vision. *Correspondence of Rev. Dr. DeCormis and Hon. E.R. Mudge*.

<sup>277</sup> Hobbs, *Lynn and Surroundings*, 99.

profitable to any—cruel as the grave. In the afternoon staid at home.”<sup>278</sup> Rev. Cooke would no doubt claim that the true essence of Calvinism was charitable, just, and unchanging. But its outwardly sharp edges were softening.

The Central Congregational Society was an intentional colony of First Church. Rev. Cooke supported its establishment and preached at its dedication on Silsbee St. in December 1850.<sup>279</sup> Yet its construction furthered the Congregational drift away from Puritan principles: the new building featured a cross. An out of town newspaper, *The New England Puritan*, criticized the innovation, a critique ignored in Cooke’s *Centuries* and roundly mocked as uptight by contemporaries. In the *Lynn News*’ letters, citizens including “A Descendant of the Puritans” supported the new construction. One gave full support for the building, but stayed within Protestant bounds: “The Roman Catholics have long been permitted to monopolize the use of that beautiful emblem.”<sup>280</sup> The editorial board used the occasion to take a very small step further, vocally defending the early Puritans’ Episcopal foes: “There are some, who profess not to be ashamed of the cross, yet seem to thrown into something like hystericks, when they see the “sign of the cross” in the Episcopal Church, as if they had encountered a spectre of Romish heresy.”<sup>281</sup> Though anti-Catholic prejudice

---

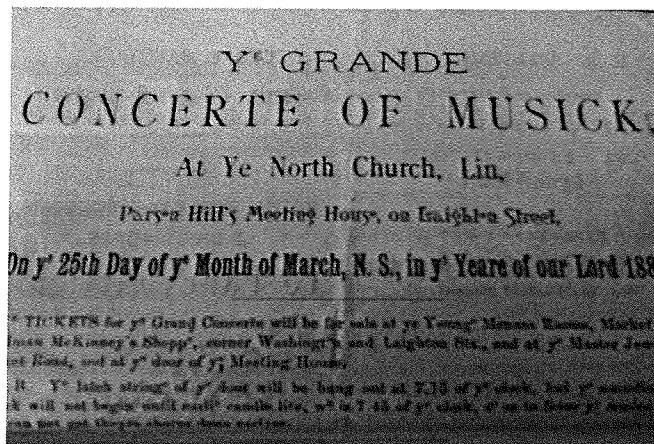
<sup>278</sup> Cooke, *Centuries*, 363. The elder Morse, Jedidiah, was a famous geographer, a former student of Jonathan Edwards, and a strong Calvinist. He assisted in the creation of the orthodox Andover Theological Seminary, and founded the conservative religious newspaper, *The Panoplist*. The younger Morse, likely Sidney, was also a geographer and occasional inventor, alongside his brother Samuel, the best known Morse, who invented the code bearing that name.

<sup>279</sup> *Lynn News*, December 6, 1850, 2.

<sup>280</sup> *Lynn News*, October 4, 1850, 4.

<sup>281</sup> *Lynn News*, September 26, 1850, 2.

clearly remained, Rev. Cooke, had apparently set bounds on religious conservatism in Lynn. If Cooke supported it, it simply could not be that bad.



North Church found humor in its Puritan Origins.  
*First Church of Christ, Congregational Archives*

After Cooke's death in 1864, "a certain way of looking at truths, and of dealing with Andover theology,<sup>282</sup> and the teachings of Methodism, had become fixed in the minds of the people by Dr. Cooke—views which neither the pastor, nor all of this congregation, were then in entire sympathy."<sup>283</sup> In other words, Rev. Dr. James Whiton was more liberal than his predecessor. The half-schism, half-intentional colony that resulted in 1869 was Jan Ernst Matzeliger's North Church, serving the heretofore unchurched Ward 5. Whiton withdrew to North Church, and a young man named Joseph Cook was called to the First Church. Both congregations,

---

<sup>282</sup> The Andover Theology, then still in its early days, would be self-styled as "Progressive Orthodoxy." See Egbert Smyth, *Progressive Orthodoxy: A Contribution to the Christian Interpretation of Christian Doctrines* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1892).

<sup>283</sup> F.B. Makepeace, "Colonies of the Church," 104-119, *Celebration of the Two Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the Organization of the First Church of Christ in Lynn*, (Lynn: J.F. McCarty and Bro., 1882), 116.

like their city, prospered.<sup>284</sup> By 1900, four congregational churches served the four corners of Lynn: Bethany in the East; 1<sup>st</sup> in the West; North in the North, and Central in the South. By the twentieth century, the doctrinal differences that budded with the establishment of North Church had flowered. Rev. Whiton returned to First Church in 1907 with fond memories of his 1865-69 tenure, but also with an even more liberal theological outlook. Looking upon the science of evolution as having killed the doctrine of original sin, He gleefully celebrated the death of the evangelical New England Theology as “ancient history.”<sup>285</sup> Whiton’s younger colleague George Owen, the sitting pastor, remained wary of new definitions for theology and human nature: “It is the grossest superficiality that does not see that the working principles of social life are based upon the deepest truths concerning God, man and destiny.”<sup>286</sup>

### **The Baptists Shine**

North Church led the city not only in a new theology, but also in a new practice of making all pews free. Of that arrangement, the second pastor reported eagerly that, “More than weekly, on an average, some inquiry is made by letter or otherwise respecting the working of our plan. Many more eyes than you would believe are upon us.”<sup>287</sup>

---

<sup>284</sup> Makepeace, “Colonies of the Church,” 117.

<sup>285</sup> James Whiton, “Address, Retrospect and Prospect,” *Celebration of the 275<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the First Church of Christ, Lynn, Massachusetts*, 53.

<sup>286</sup> Owen, “The Development of the Theology in the First Church in Lynn,” 30.

<sup>287</sup> James L. Hill, *A Decade of History in the North Church, Lynn*. North Church, May 6, 1879. Hill also noted that the transcendentalist Free Church had tried but not been consistently free in regard to pews. The Catholic Church received most of its income via pew rental, but not all pews charged for seats, (Statistical Returns of the Church of St. Mary’s Lynn for the year ending December 31, 1862-72).

One contemporary congregation that followed North Church's free pew lead was East Baptist Church,<sup>288</sup> founded in 1874 and growing to more than 400 members and 600 Bible School students within a decade of instituting the risky new model of ministry.<sup>289</sup> Baptist ministry had grown steadily since Rev. Phippen began his Calvinistic preaching in 1816. In 1851, John Blaney, a shoe worker and Sunday School teacher asked Pastor William Richards to allow a new religious school in East Lynn. Richards was hesitant, wondering why children could not come to First Baptist. Blaney responded that "their parents are afraid of the horses of the Godless along the Common," and urged, "the harvest is rich and the workers are few. There is a great field of opportunity for the Baptist Church in East Lynn!"<sup>290</sup> Blaney's daughters brought friends, then friends' parents, to their home on Essex Street. As the school grew, it also became a church. A pastor was already in place before the High Street (Second) Baptist Church was formally incorporated in 1854.<sup>291</sup>

In the early 1870s, High Street spread daughter churches across Lynn and Swampscott. The hundred members who departed for East Baptist in 1874 caused a measure of pain, as High Street was in the midst of moving its meeting place and its name to an beautiful new structure on Washington Street, which opened the same year.<sup>292</sup> East Baptist's secession created tension, but the remaining Washington

---

<sup>288</sup> Warren M. Breed, *Outlines of the History of the East Baptist Church Lynn, Mass.: The Friendly Church, 1874-1929*. East Baptist Church, 1930, 1.

<sup>289</sup> "Baptist Activities in Lynn," 10.

<sup>290</sup> Paul Haley, "A Century of Progress: The Story of the Washington Street Baptist Church, Lynn, Mass., 1854-1954," (Lynn: Washington Street Baptist, 1954), 7.

<sup>291</sup> Haley, "A Century of Progress," 10-12.

<sup>292</sup> Haley, "A Century of Progress," 27. Washington Street had its own Mudge-figures in the form of industrialist brothers George and Henry Pevear, who gave the lands

Street community honored their founder's fondness for East Lynn by sending a delegation to the institution of their newest daughter.<sup>293</sup>

In 1880, Union Baptist Church (renamed Zion Baptist Church after a 1902 fire) joined the Baptist fold. The congregation was founded by black Nova Scotian immigrants, the descendants of Revolutionary War-era African American Loyalists, Jamaican Maroons, War of 1812 refugees, and escaped slaves from the Underground Railroad. The first minister was sent from the Nova Scotia Maritime Baptist Convention of Wolfville.<sup>294</sup>



WASHINGTON STREET BAPTIST CHURCH, LYNN, MASS.

---

for both High Street and Washington Street Churches. After a 1905 fire, Henry also made up a shortfall in the reconstruction fund.

<sup>293</sup> Haley, "A Century of Progress," 36.

<sup>294</sup> Richard M. Shprecher, "Crossing Borders: The Nova Scotian Origin of Zion Baptist Church in Lynn." Unpublished essay, Andover-Newton Theological Seminary, Baptist Theology and Polity, 2008; 1, 6.

Neither Union Baptist nor African Methodist Episcopal Church were mentioned in the white-run 1900 City Semi-Centennial Celebrations. But the Union Baptist community traced a history similar to that of their white brethren like Washington Street, and East Baptist. They were propelled by the same increase in religious attention in the mid-late 1870s.<sup>295</sup> They were also peopled in large part by the Protestant English-speaking counterparts of the French Canadians who formed St. Jean Baptiste Catholic Church. Canadian immigrants settled easily into the rhythms of American life, and blossomed in all neighborhoods, especially the growing areas of East Lynn.<sup>296</sup>

East Lynn, together with Swampscott, was the home base for the impressive growth of the Universalist church. In 1831, the Universalist minister of Malden, Rev. Sylvanus Cobb, was invited by Swampscott fishermen to speak in the Swampscott schoolhouse, then later in Mechanics' Hall on Chestnut Street. In both cases, the buildings were filled to capacity, and Cobb continued lecturing in Town Hall, and a Universalist Society was organized by 1833.<sup>297</sup> The Society set about to call its own minister and to establish a Sunday School, resolving that, "it is the indispensable duty of parents who wish to promote the happiness of their off-spring by rational and scriptural views of the character of God and their own future destiny, to guard with a jealous eye the infant mind against the withering influence of those popular

---

<sup>295</sup> "Historical Sketch," *Manual of the East Baptist Church, 1884*, 9.

<sup>296</sup> Meaghan MacDonald, *Americanized Before They Came: English Canadian Immigrants to Lynn, Massachusetts, 1888-1930*. Unpublished Master's Thesis St. Mary's University, Halifax 2008.

<sup>297</sup> Cobb, *Autobiography*, 202-204.

heathenish superstitions.”<sup>298</sup> The first structure was expanded twice before being sold in 1871 to the Freewill Baptists. In 1873, with great difficulty in the midst of the depression, a new structure was built on Nahant Street.<sup>299</sup> By the 1880s, First Universalist was the largest church in the denomination.<sup>300</sup>

When Dr. James Pullman left his pastorate in New York for First Universalist in Lynn in 1885, *The New York Times* mourned the departure. But, “the Lynn Church being the principal society of the denomination in New-England,” he could hardly refuse the call.<sup>301</sup> Pullman’s pastorate was revered on both the local and denominational levels. He established a Flower Mission to provide comfort for the sick, aided in the creation of the Universalists’ Young People’s Christian Union, and brought the Festival of All Souls to Lynn.<sup>302</sup> Pullman also led a re-liberalizing charge in the denomination, authoring Universalist complements to the orthodox Sunday School curriculum then in use across denominations.<sup>303</sup> In a sentiment that would help to lead to the 1960s union Universalist to Unitarian, Pullman also challenging parochially-minded brethren in 1894 that, “having squatted on of the biggest words

---

<sup>298</sup> Ellen Mudge Burrill, “Our Church and the People Who Made It,” Published with the By-Laws and Program of the Seventy-Fifth Anniversary, (Lynn: First Universalist Parish, 1908), 28.

<sup>299</sup> Burrill, “Our Church and the People Who Made It,” 21.

<sup>300</sup> Hobbs, *Lynn and Surroundings*, 95.

<sup>301</sup> “Dr. Pullman to Go to Lynn,” *New York Times*, February 23, 1885. James Pullman was the brother of George Pullman, inventor of the Pullman rail car, and the industrial interest in the 1893 Pullman strikes in Illinois. See George Hunston Williams, *American Universalism*, (Scituate, MA: Unitarian Universalist Historical Society, 2002), 47.

<sup>302</sup> Burrill, “Our Church and the People Who Made It,” 27.

<sup>303</sup> M. Elizabeth Anastos, “Unitarian Universalist Religious Education: A Brief History,” 1-20 in Richard S. Gilbert, ed., *In the Middle of a Journey: Readings in Unitarian Universalist Faith Development*, (Bloomington, IN: iUniverse, 2013), 4. The publications were called *The Universalist Helper* and *The Myrtle*.



in the English language,” they must “either improve the property or move off the premises.”<sup>304</sup>

Meanwhile the Methodist Episcopal Church, early author of religious revival in Lynn, was quietly but rapidly propelled by the same forces carrying the city at large. At South Street Methodist Episcopal, for example, as many of those married in 1885 were from Canada as from Lynn, while the majority were from elsewhere in New England.<sup>305</sup> At the incorporation of the city in 1850, there were three churches—First, on the Common, St. Paul’s at Woodend; and South Street—and all three were entirely full. Two more were quickly in 1850 and 1853, then subsequently enlarged. Local Methodists planted churches across the North Shore, while new Lynn congregations joined the fold in 1871, 1873, 1885, 1886, 1887, and 1892.<sup>306</sup> At the end of the century, ten Methodist Episcopal churches in Lynn held 2,315 full members.<sup>307</sup>

Black adherents to the Methodist tradition were already expanding its expressions through the Mailey Street African Methodist Episcopal Church in 1856. That congregation received additional infusions of congregants from among the black Canadian immigrants arriving in the last thirty years.<sup>308</sup> The Mailey Street church launched successful ministers such as A.J. Nottingham (172) and William J.

---

<sup>304</sup> Williams, *American Universalism*, 66.

<sup>305</sup> Pastoral Records of South Street Methodist Episcopal Church. Boston University School of Theology Archives. Of the twenty individuals married, four were from Lynn, with two each from New Brunswick and Nova Scotia.

<sup>306</sup> Mudge, *History of the New England Conference*, 212.

<sup>307</sup> Mudge, *History of the New England Conference*, 225.

<sup>308</sup> Shprecher, “Crossing Borders: The Nova Scotian Origin of Zion Baptist Church in Lynn,” 8. The A.M.E. remained a part of the Methodist Episcopal denomination until

Laws (147), into the denomination's nationwide service and hosted its New England Conference in 1873 and 1883.<sup>309</sup>

The Holiness branch in the Wesleyan tradition would also take a significant step in Lynn. The second of what would become the Church of the Nazarene body of churches was formed as The Mission Church on Oxford Street in 1888. Its pastor C. Howard Davis would participate in the 1896 organization of the Association of Pentecostal Churches of America, which would take on its current name in 1919.<sup>310</sup>

Previewing the early twentieth century, smaller denominations gained new ground or arose to serve a growing diversity of European immigrants. The Freewill Baptist Church appears in nineteenth century histories primarily in real estate transactions, having bought and sold land for incarnations lasting from and 1836-39, 1843-50 and 1871-1923.<sup>311</sup> A separate branch, called the Free Baptist Church, was established in 1890. An offshoot of East Baptist Church, that church took root and later became Austin Square Baptist Church, still ministering today.<sup>312</sup>

In 1889, the Presbyterian Church very hesitantly established an outpost on the turf of its Calvinistic brethren Congregationalists in order to minister to Scottish

---

<sup>309</sup> Richard Wright Jr. and John Hawkins, eds., *Centennial Encyclopedia of the African Methodist Episcopal Church*. (Philadelphia: African Methodist Episcopal Church, 1916), 172, 147, 339.

<sup>310</sup> See Bryan Merrill, "The Rise of the Church of the Nazarene," Nazarene Archives, 1992 ([nazarene.org/files/docs/schematic.pdf](http://nazarene.org/files/docs/schematic.pdf)); Timothy Smith, *Called Unto Holiness: The Story of the Nazarenes*, Vol I, (Kansas City: Nazarene Publishing House, 1962), 70; First Church of the Nazarene website, [www.lynnchurch.com](http://www.lynnchurch.com); Stan Ingersoll, "Across A Century: The Heritage of the Association of Pentecostal Churches of America,"

[nazarene.org/ministries/administration/centennial/goals/across/display.html](http://nazarene.org/ministries/administration/centennial/goals/across/display.html)

<sup>311</sup> "The Lynn Church," *Freewill Baptist Quarterly* Vol. 14 (Jan., 1866), 342-43; "Baptist Activities in Lynn," 14.

<sup>312</sup> "Austin Square Baptist Church, Lynn Mass: A Brief History on the 20<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the New 1988 Addition," 2008; "Baptist Activities in Lynn," 14.

and Canadian Presbyterian immigrants. In a 1908 fundraising appeal, the denomination explained to its readers, "When these newcomers, as is often the case, are so numerous that they must needs form a congregation...then without in any degree trenching on the field of their Congregational or in any wise weakening sister churches there is every propriety in organizing a church."<sup>313</sup>

Swedish immigrants likewise established the forerunner to Lynn's Lutheran Church, the Scandanavian Evangelical Church on Pleasant Street downtown. Though worshipping in Swedish in 1900, the congregation was well-enough attuned to Lynn's civic life to give special attention to the city's semi-centennial in May of that year.<sup>314</sup>

Such immigrants, the forerunners of Greek, Polish, Italian, Cambodian, Sudanese, Dominican and Iraqi Lynners to come, entered a city with enough variety for anyone to make a home. Protestants and Catholics could live together in peace, if not always in harmony. The years ahead would see denominational and doctrinal evolution embracing Greek Orthodox and Pentecostals alongside Congregationalists and Universalists. The channels through which the spiritual life of Lynn would flow had been dug by Puritan settlers, Methodist evangelists and Irish Catholic railroad workers. The torrents of people that industry brought into Lynn flowed through those channels, deepening and carving them into the unique shape that Lynn brought into the twentieth century.

---

<sup>313</sup> Erksine White, "Church Erection," *The Assembly Herald* of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. General Assembly, Vol. 14, 1908, 95-96. The article also furnished proof of its welcomeness to the Calvinistic landscape in the form of a supportive letter from A.J. Covell, then the pastor of the nearby North Church.

<sup>314</sup> *City of Lynn, Massachusetts, Semi-Centennial of Incorporation*, 39.

## Summary and Notes

If there is one thing upon which Lynn's chroniclers agree, it is that Lynn is unique. Parsons Cooke forthrightly informs us that "the people of Lynn are no race of imitators."<sup>315</sup> Clarence Hobbs contributes that "Lynn is like no other New England city."<sup>316</sup> For students of New England religious history, Lynn stands out for the early strength of the Society of Friends, the weakness of Unitarianism, and the vigor with which it embraced reform ideals in the pre-Civil War era. The experience of massive immigration between 1865 and 1900 was shared by other Massachusetts cities, but was equally formative for Lynn.

Lynn's church grew up in soil fertilized by Puritan and Quaker ancestors, but it grew fastest toward the light provided in the Methodist revival and bore fruit across a wide variety of denominations, nationalities, and doctrines.

It remains a matter of judgment whether one fully accepts Episcopalian James Newhall's contention that,

"The genius of the people of Lynn has seemed to tend, in a more than ordinary degree, towards warmth of feeling and freedom of expression – a trait leading, where pulpit exercises are concerned, rather to unrestrained liberty in the choice of subjects, and discursiveness in exposition, than to exact statements on points of faith or fondness for liturgical discipline. The result of this tendency is apparent in the great variety of denominations into which we are broken, and the peculiar characteristics of some of them."<sup>317</sup>

---

<sup>315</sup> Cooke, *Centuries*, 3.

<sup>316</sup> Hobbs, *Lynn and Surroundings*, 13.

<sup>317</sup> Newhall, "Historical Address," *Memorial of St. Stephen's Parish, 1882*; 31.

We may just as well conclude with the Methodist Rev. Edward T. Curnick, D.D. that, "It is one of the glories of Lynn that she has always been friendly to religion."<sup>318</sup> Similarly, readers of history (like observers of the present) may come to different conclusions as to whether success in spiritual affairs is best defined in terms of steadfast faithfulness, numerical growth, doctrinal consistency, ecumenical openness, practical activism, material fruit, or other measures.

Much more study can be done on Lynn's Christians and their churches. This work has not focused significantly on musical, architectural and financial developments within the churches. Those considerations are an important area for historical study, and were thankfully well-documented by Lynn's churchgoers in their congregational histories. Most prominent among these are the Centennial Memorials of First Methodist Episcopal Church and First Unitarian Church, as well as First Congregational's 250<sup>th</sup> and 275<sup>th</sup> Anniversary histories. Seen from modern eyes, even the contemporary secondary sources are refreshingly, almost jarringly, straightforward about money matters. Also, for a time, Lynn was also justly famous for its bells—mostly, though not entirely ecclesiastical instruments.<sup>319</sup>

The foregoing work has also kept its focus close on the city limits of Lynn, but more interesting study could be done on Lynn's contributions to foreign missions and to churches begun by Lynn congregants in other parts of the state. Additional research could be conducted on the gender dynamics in churches or the religious dynamics in families, since church membership was almost always predominantly

---

<sup>318</sup> Edward Kurnick, "St, Paul's Methodist Episcopal Church Sermon," *City of Lynn, Massachusetts, Semi-Centennial of Incorporation*, 71.

<sup>319</sup> C. J. H. Woodbury, *The Bells of Lynn: A Paper Given Before the Lynn Historical Society December 10, 1914*. Lynn: Lynn Historical Society, 1915.

female. And there are always more stories to tell. An institutionally-oriented survey like this one deals frequently with clergy, but the faith of Lynn's people was practiced mostly beyond church walls, in the farmhouses, tenements, mansions, factories and streets of the city.

The City of Lynn is an earthly, not a heavenly city, and not all of its history is meant for emulation. But God has given many Lynners true faith in Christ that has furnished the vision and strength for tremendous deeds of self-sacrifice and commitment to their families, their congregations, their countrymen, and their Savior. It is my humble hope that this study will be an asset and an encouragement to those who will proclaim the name of Jesus Christ in Lynn and beyond.

## Select Bibliography

- “Abby Kelly Foster (1811-1887).” National Abolition Hall of Fame and Museum. Web. <[www.nationalabolitionhalloffameandmuseum.org/afoster.html](http://www.nationalabolitionhalloffameandmuseum.org/afoster.html)>.
- Abzug, Robert. *Cosmos Crumbling: American Reform and the Religious Imagination*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1994.
- Adams, Catherine, and Elizabeth H. Pleck. *Love of Freedom: Black Women in Colonial and Revolutionary New England*. New York: Oxford University Press: 2010.
- Adams, Charles. *A Discourse Delivered at the First Methodist Church in Lynn February 28, 1841, on the Occasion of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Establishment of the Methodist Church in that Town*. Lynn: Perley & Stoneham, 1841.
- An Act Made at a General Court, Held at Boston, the 20<sup>th</sup> of October, 1658*. <[www.qhpress.org/quakerpages/qwhp/masslaw.htm](http://www.qhpress.org/quakerpages/qwhp/masslaw.htm)>.
- Adams, Charles. “A Discourse Delivered at the First Methodist Church in Lynn February 28, 1841, on the Occasion of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Establishment of the Methodist Church in that Town.” Lynn: Perley & Stoneham, 1841.
- The American Baptist Magazine* Volume 12. Boston: Putnam and Damrell, 1832.
- Anastos, M. Elizabeth. “Unitarian Universalist Religious Education: A Brief History.” Richard S. Gilbert, ed., *In the Middle of a Journey: Readings in Unitarian Universalist Faith Development*. Bloomington, IN: iUniverse, 2013, 1-20.
- Anderson, Jr., Arthur D. “First of the Automated Lasters.” *Boot and Shoe Recorder* (June 1969), 79-107.
- Appleton Motor*, July 19, 1860.
- Asbury, Francis. *Journal and Letters of Francis Asbury, Volumes I-III*. Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1958.
- The Assembly Herald* Volume 14. Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. (January 1908).
- The Awl*. Published in Lynn 1844-45.
- Backus Isaac, and David Weston. *History of the New England Baptists, With Particular Reference to the Denomination Called the Baptists*. Paris, AR: The Baptist Standard Bearer, 2001.

- Bailey, O.H. and J.C. Hazen, "Manufacturing Center of Lynn, Massachusetts, 1879," Lynn: 1879. Image. <maps.bpl.org/id/10178>.
- Bailey, Richard A. *Race and Redemption in Puritan New England*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- "Baptist Activities in Lynn," Anonymous history. East Baptist Church Archives, 1924.
- Barton, Walter. "Historical Address." *Celebration of the Two Hundred And Fiftieth Anniversary of the Organization of the First Church of Christ in Lynn (Congregational Trinitarian) Thursday, June 8, 1882*. Lynn: J.F. McCarty & Brother, 1882.
- Bass, Diana B. *Standing Against the Whirlwind: Evangelical Episcopalians in Nineteenth Century America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1995.
- Bell, James B. *A War of Religion: Dissenters, Anglicans, and the American Revolution*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2008.
- Bergera, Gary James. "Identifying the Earliest Mormon Polygamists, 1841-44." *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* Volume 38. No. 3 (2005), 1-74.
- Blocker, Jack S. et al., eds. *Alcohol and Temperance in Modern Society*. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2003.
- Boice, Samuel. "Statement on Quakers." *A Century of Puritanism and a Century of Its Opposites*. Parsons Cooke, Boston: S.K. Whipple & Co., 1855, 110-15.
- Boston Street Methodist Episcopal Society, Parish Records, 1853. Boston University School of Theology Archives.
- Boston Street Methodist Episcopal Society Provident Society Meeting Records, 1868. Boston University School of Theology Archives.
- Boylan, Anne M. *Sunday School: The Formation of an American Institution, 1790-1880*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988.
- Breed, Warren M. *Outlines of the History of the East Baptist Church Lynn, Mass.: The Friendly Church. 1874-1929*. East Baptist Church, 1930.
- "A Brief History of Lynn," <www.ci.lynn.ma.us/aboutlynn\_history.shtml>.
- "Broadway Baptist Church: Resignation of its Pastor Rev. Henry Hinckley; Sketch of the Church and its Past History." *Cambridge Chronicle*. Saturday August 31, 1878, 4.



- Burrage, Henry S. *A History of the Baptists in New England*. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1894.
- Burrill, Ellen Mudge. "Our Church and the People Who Made It." Published with the By-Laws and Program of the Seventy-Fifth Anniversary. Lynn: First Universalist Parish, 1908.
- Calvin, John. *Institutes of the Christian Religion, The Library of Christian Classics*. John T. McNeill, ed.; Ford Lewis Battles, trans. Westminster John Knox, 1950.
- Cambridge Platform of Church Discipline*. Cambridge: Cambridge Synod of Congregational Churches, 1648.
- Carroll, Bret E. *Spiritualism in Antebellum America*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997.
- "Catholic History (Lynn)." Benjamin F. Arrington, ed. *Municipal History of Essex County, Massachusetts*. New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, 437-46.
- Celebration of the 250<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Organization of the First Church of Christ (Congregational Trinitarian) at Lynn, Massachusetts*. Lynn: J.F. McCarty & Brother, 1882.
- Celebration of the 275<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the First Church of Christ, Lynn, Massachusetts*. Lynn: Thomas P. Nichol and Sons, 1907.
- Christ Church Lynn, Record of Clergy. Written 1876. St. Stephen's Memorial Episcopal Archives.
- "The Church Begins in Lynn." *One Hundred Years of Christian Service: 1844-1944*. Lynn: St. Stephen's Memorial Church, 1944, 1-9.
- City of Lynn, Massachusetts, Semi-Centennial of Incorporation*. Lynn: Semi-Centennial Celebration Committee, 1900.
- Clark, William R. "Sermon at the Re-Opening of the Church, 1859." John D. Pickles, Ed., *Centennial Anniversary of the First Methodist Episcopal Church, Lynn, Mass., Observed February 19-22, 1891*. Lynn: George C. Herbert Press.
- Clarke, John. *Ill News from New England*. London: Henry Hills, 1652.
- Clay, Edward Williams. "Johnny Q, introducing the Haytien ambassador to the ladies of Lynn, Mass.: Respectfully inscribed to Miss Caroline Augusta Chase and the 500 Ladies of Lynn Who Wish to Marry Black Husbands." New York: John

- Childs, 1839. Lithograph.  
<cdm.bostonathenaeum.org/cdm/ref/collection/p13110coll5/id/1829>.
- Cobb, Sylvanus. *Autobiography of the First Forty One Years of the Life of Sylvanus Cobb, D.D.* Boston: Universalist Publishing House; Rockwell & Rollins, 1867.
- Cooke, Parsons. *A Century of Puritanism and a Century of its Opposites: With Results Contrasted to Enforce Puritan Principles, and to Trace What is Peculiar in the People of Lynn to What is Peculiar in its History.* Boston: S.K. Whipple & Co., 1855.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Female Preaching, Unlawful and Inexpedient: A Sermon.* Lynn: James R. Newhall, 1837.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The Temperance Movement. Two Sermons Preached Before the First Congregational Society, in Lynn on Sunday, February 13, 1848.* Lynn: First Church, 1848.
- Communion Silver Portrait at 1st Church of Christ, Congregational. Photograph. 2014.
- Conway, Bill and Diane Shepherd. *The Great Fires of Lynn.* Charleston, SC: Arcadia, 2006.
- Cott, Nancy F. "Young Women in the Second Great Awakening in New England." *Feminist Studies* Volume 3. No. 1/2 (Autumn, 1975), 15-29.
- Cumblor, John Taylor. *A Moral Response to Industrialism: The Lectures of Reverend Cook in Lynn, Massachusetts.* Albany: SUNY Press, 1982.
- Dallimore, Arnold A. *George Whitefield: The Life and Times of the Great Evangelist of the Eighteenth-Century Revival, Volumes 1 & 2.* Carlisle, PA: Banner of Truth, 1970.
- Davey, Michael J., ed. *Herman Melville's Moby Dick: A Routledge Study Guide and Sourcebook.* New York: Routledge, 2004.
- Dawley, Alan. *Class and Community: The Industrial Revolution in Lynn.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976.
- Dawley, Alan and Paul Faler, "Working Class Culture and Politics in the Industrial Revolution: Sources of Loyalty and Rebellion." *Journal of Social History* 9. No. 4 (1976), 466-80.
- DeCormis, Louis. *Correspondence of Rev. Dr. DeCormis and Hon. E.R. Mudge.* St. Stephen's Memorial Episcopal Church Archive.

- \_\_\_\_\_. "The 'Memorial' Church in Lynn—Its Story." Lynn: Men's Club of St. Stephen's Parish, Wednesday May 10, 1904.
- Dolan, Jay P. "Toward a Social Gospel." Robert R. Mathiesen, ed. *Critical Issues in American Religious History: A Reader*. Waco: Baylor University Press, 2001, 472-84.
- Douglass, Frederick. "The Church and Prejudice," November 4, 1841, Plymouth County, Massachusetts.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The Frederick Douglass Papers, 1842-1852*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave, Written by Himself*. Boston: Anti-Slavery Office, 1845.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Slaveholding Religion and the Christianity of Christ." *African American Religious History: A Documentary Witness*. Milton E. Sernett, Ed. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999.
- "Dr. Pullman to Go to Lynn." *New York Times*. February 23, 1885.
- East Baptist Church Manual and Historical Sketch, 1884*. East Baptist Church Archives.
- Faler, Paul. *Mechanics and Manufacturers in the Early Industrial Revolution: Lynn, Massachusetts, 1780-1860*. Albany: SUNY Press, 1981.
- Finkelman, Paul, ed. *Encyclopedia of African American History, Volume 2 1619-1895: From the Colonial Period to the Age of Frederick Douglass*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2006.
- First Church of the Nazarene. <[www.lynnchurch.com](http://www.lynnchurch.com)>.
- First Methodist Society, Official Board Records, 1896-1902. Boston University School of Theology Archives.
- Fitzpatrick, John Bernard. *Bishop's Journal*. Volumes 1-4. 1844-66. Archives of the Archdiocese of Boston.
- Fletcher, Holly Berkley. *Gender and the American Temperance Movement of the Nineteenth Century*. Florence, KY: Routledge, 2011.

- Foner, Philip Sheldon. *History of the Labor Movement in the United States, Volume I: From Colonial Times to the Founding of the American Federation of Labor*. New York: International Publishers Co., 1947.
- Formisano, Ronald P. *For the People: American Populist Movements from the Revolution to the 1850s: American Populist Movements from the Revolution to the 1850s*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2008.
- Freewill Baptist Quarterly* Volume 14 (January 1866).
- Gannon, Fred A. *The Ways of a Worker a Century Ago, As Shown by the Diary of Joseph Lye, Shoemaker*. Salem: Newcomb & Gauss, 1918.
- George, Timothy. *Theology of the Reformers*. Nashville: Broadman & Holman, 1988.
- Gill, Gillian. *Mary Baker Eddy*. New York: Perseus Books, 1998.
- Gonzalez, Justo. *The Story of Christianity, Volume 2*. New York: Harper Collins, 2010.
- Guren, Pamela. "Lost Lynn: The Shoe Industry and its Architecture, 1750-1910." *Life and Times in Shoe City: The Shoe Workers of Lynn*. Salem, MA: Essex Institute, 1979, 1-16.
- Haber, Lewis. *Black Pioneers of Science and Invention*. San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1992.
- Hall, David D. *A Reforming People: Puritanism and the Transformation of Public Life in New England*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2013.
- Haley, Paul. *A Century of Progress: The Story of the Washington Street Baptist Church, Lynn, Massachusetts, 1854-1954*. Lynn: Washington Street Baptist, 1954.
- Hardman, Keith. *Seasons of Refreshing: Evangelism and Revivals in America*. Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, 2006.
- Harwood, Thomas. "British Evangelical Abolitionism and American Churches in the 1830's," *Journal of Southern History* Volume 28. No. 3 (August 1962), 287-306.
- Hatch, Nathan O. *The Democratization of American Christianity*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989.
- Hill, James L. *A Decade of History in the North Church, Lynn*. Lynn: North Church, 1879.

- "Historical Sketch: Quakers" Lynn Historical Society, 1933.
- "History of St. Peter's," <[www.stpeterssalem.org/about.htm](http://www.stpeterssalem.org/about.htm)>.
- Hobbs, Clarence W. *Lynn and Surroundings*. Lynn: Lewis & Winship, 1886.
- Hoey, Ellen Mary Griffin. *Moll Pitcher's Prophecies: Or, The American Sybil*. Boston: Eastburn Press, 1895.
- Hurd, Duane, ed. *History of Essex County, With Biographical Sketches of Many of its Pioneers and Prominent Men*. Philadelphia: J.W. Lewis & Co., 1888.
- Huston, James L. "Facing an Angry Labor: The American Public Interprets the Shoemakers' Strike of 1860" *Civil War History*, Volume 28. No. 3 (Sep., 1982), 197-212.
- Hutchinson, John Wallace. *Story of the Hutchinsons (Tribe of Jesse)*. Boston: Lee and Shepard, 1896.
- Industries of Massachusetts: Historical and descriptive review of Lynn, Lowell, Lawrence, Haverhill, Salem, Beverly, Peabody, Danvers, Gloucester, Newburyport, and Amesbury, and Their Leading Manufacturers and Merchants*. New York: International Publishing Co., 1886.
- Ingersoll, Stan. "Across A Century: The Heritage of the Association of Pentecostal Churches of America." <[nazarene.org/ministries/administration/centennial/goals/across/display.html](http://nazarene.org/ministries/administration/centennial/goals/across/display.html)>.
- "Jan Ernst Matzeliger: Van Slavenkind in Suriname tot uitvinder in Nrd. Amerika 1852-1889." *de Wave Tijd*. Oct 6, 1958.
- Johnson, David Newhall. *Sketches of Lynn, Or, The Changes of Fifty Years*. Lynn: Thomas P. Nichols, 1880.
- Karwatka, Dennis. "Against All Odds: Jan Matzeliger, a poor black immigrant, struggled alone to become an inventor and in the early 1880s succeeded in devising a machine that revolutionized the industry." *Invention & Technology* Volume 6. No. 3 (1991), 70-75.
- Katrowitz, Stephen. *More than Freedom: Fighting for Black Citizenship in a White Republic, 1829-1889*. New York: Penguin Press, 2012.
- Kidd, Thomas S. *The Great Awakening: The Roots of Evangelical Christianity in Colonial America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2007.

- Lane, Janet. "Lynn's Quaker Cemetery Lives On." *Daily Evening Item*, August 23, 1983, 21.
- Laurie, Bruce. *Beyond Garrison: Antislavery and Social Reform*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- Lee, Jesse. *A Short History of the Methodists in the United States of America Beginning in 1766, and Continued Till 1809, To Which is Prefixed A Brief Account of Their Rise in New England in the Year 1729 &c.* Baltimore: MaGill and Clime, 1810.
- Leiken, Steven Bernard. *The Practical Utopians: American Workers and the Cooperative Movement in the Gilded Age*. Detroit: Wayne State Press, 2005.
- Lenger, Friedrich. "Class, Culture and Class Consciousness in Ante-Bellum Lynn: a Critique of Alan Dawley and Paul Faler," *Social History* Volume 6. No. 3 (1981), 317-32.
- Lesochier, Don Divance. *The Knights of St. Crispin 1867-1874: A Study in the Causes of Trade Unionism*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin, 1912.
- Lewis, Alonzo. *The History of Lynn*. Boston: J. H. Eastburn, 1829.
- Lewis, Alonzo, and James Robinson Newhall. *History of Lynn, Essex County, Massachusetts, Including Lynnfield, Saugus, Swampscot and Nahant*. Boston: John L. Shorey, 1865.
- Lewis, Alonzo et al. *History of Lynn, Essex County, Massachusetts, Including Lynnfield, Saugus, Swampscott and Nahant Volume II: 1864-1893*. Lynn: The Nichols Press, 1897.
- Lincoln, Abraham. "Speech at New Haven, March 6, 1860." *The Writings of Abraham Lincoln, Volume 5: 1858-62*. (MobileReference, 2010). Ebook.
- Livingstone, E.A. ed., "Crispin and Crispinian." *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- Lloyd-Jones, David Martyn. *The Puritans: Their Origins and Successors*. Edinburgh: Banner of Truth Trust, 1987.
- Lye, Joseph. *Diary of Joseph Lye*. Peabody Essex Museum Holdings.
- LynnCamTV. *Historic Lynn: Episode 3*. May 22, 2012. Video. <[www.youtube.com/watch?v=rXH3hGFO2Lg](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rXH3hGFO2Lg)>.
- Lynn Item Extra*. June 3, 1899. Special Edition on the 25<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of East Baptist Church.

- Lynn News*. March 15, 1850.
- \_\_\_\_. March 22, 1850.
- \_\_\_\_. April 26, 1850.
- \_\_\_\_. May 17, 1850.
- \_\_\_\_. September 26, 1850.
- \_\_\_\_. October 4, 1850.
- \_\_\_\_. December 6, 1850.
- "Lynn: Reconnaissance Survey Town Report." Massachusetts Historical Society, 1985.
- Lynn Record*, 1 January, 1834.
- Lynn Semi-Weekly Reports*, February 11, 1871.
- MacDonald, Meaghan. *Americanized Before They Came: English Canadian Immigrants to Lynn, Massachusetts, 1888-1930*. St. Mary's University, Halifax. Unpublished Master's Thesis 2008.
- Mahler, Maurice A. "J.E. Matzeliger," Presented at the Whiting Club, January 28, 1969. 1<sup>st</sup> Church of Christ, Congregational Trinitarian Archives.
- Makepeace, F.B. "Colonies of the Church." *Celebration of the Two Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the Organization of the First Church of Christ in Lynn*. Lynn: J.F. McCarty and Bro., 1882, 104-119.
- Martin, George Henry. "The Unfolding of Religious Faith in Lynn," Lynn Historical Society, 1912.
- Martin, Waldo E. *The Mind of Frederick Douglass*. Raleigh, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1984.
- Matzeliger, Jan Ernst. *Will of Jan Ernst Matzeliger*. 1<sup>st</sup> Church of Christ, Congregational Trinitarian Archives.
- McAlister, Lester, and William Tucker. *Journey in Faith: A History of the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ)*. St. Louis: Bethany Press, 1975.
- McFeely, William S. *Frederick Douglass*. New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1991.

- McGrath, Alister. *Christian Theology: An Introduction*. Hoboken: Blackwell, 2011.
- McLoughlin, William G. *New England Dissent, 1630-1833: The Baptists and the Separation of Church and State*. Vols. I, II. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1971.
- Melder, Keith. "Women in the Shoe Industry: The Evidence from Lynn." *Life and Times in Shoe City: The Shoe Workers of Lynn*. Salem: Essex Institute, 1979, 66-83.
- "Memoir of Mrs. Sally Phippen," *The American Baptist Magazine and Missionary Intelligencer* Volume 1. No. 9 (May 1818), 313-17.
- Memorial of St. Stephen's Parish, Lynn, Mass.* Lynn: Printed by order of the Vestry, 1882.
- Merrill, Bryan. "The Rise of the Church of the Nazarene." Nazarene Archives, 1992. <nazarene.org/files/docs/schematic.pdf>.
- Meyer, Jacob C. *Church and State in Massachusetts from 1740 to 1833: A Chapter in the History of the Development of Individual Freedom*. New York: Russell & Russell, 1968.
- Migliaccio, David. "Mudge." IUPUI NEH Summer Institute, *The Many and The One: Religion, Pluralism, and American History*. Indianapolis, IN, July 12-30, 2010. raac.iupui.edu/files/8513/6666/4158/Migliaccio.pdf
- Moreno, Paul D. *Black Americans and Organized Labor: A New History*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2006.
- Moulton, Amber D. "Closing the Floodgates of Impurity: Moral Reform, Antislavery, and Interracial Marriage in Antebellum Massachusetts". *Journal of the Civil War Era* Volume 3. No. 1 (Spring 2013), 2-34.
- Moulton, John T., trans. "Tombstone Inscriptions from the Old Burying Ground, Lynn, Essex, Massachusetts."
- Mudge, James. *History of the New England Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church 1796-1910*. Boston: New England Conference, 1910.
- Mulkern, John R. *The Know-Nothing Party in Massachusetts: The Rise and Fall of a People's Movement*. Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1990.
- Mulligan, William H. "Mechanization and Work in the American Shoe Industry: Lynn, Massachusetts, 1852-1883." *The Journal of Economic History* Volume 41. No. 1 (Mar., 1981), 59-63.



- Murphy, Teresa Anne. *Ten Hours' Labor: Religion, Reform, and Gender in Early New England*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992.
- Murray, Iain. *Revival and Revivalism: The Making and Marring of American Evangelicalism, 1750-1858*. Carlisle, PA: Banner of Truth, 1994.
- Murrin, John M. et al., *Liberty, Equality, Power: A History of the American People*. Boston: Wadsworth, 2009.
- "Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, Revisited," Harvard University Press Online, <[www.hup.harvard.edu/features/frederick-douglass/](http://www.hup.harvard.edu/features/frederick-douglass/)>.
- Newhall, Howard Mudge. "Address, Embracing Substance of Remarks to the Cooper Class of the Washington Street Baptist Church, Sunday, May 13, and to the Pupils of the Training School (Ingalls Avenue) and the Loughton Street Primary School, Monday, May 14." *City of Lynn, Massachusetts Semi-Centennial of Incorporation*. Lynn: Semi-Centennial Celebration Committee, 1900.
- Newhall, J. Warren. "Poem" *Celebration of the Two Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the Organization of the First Church of Christ in Lynn, (Congregational Trinitarian) At Lynn, Massachusetts, Thursday, June 8, 1882*. Lynn: J.F. McCarty and Brother, 1882.
- Newhall, James R. *Centennial Memorial of Lynn, Essex County, Massachusetts: Embracing an Historical Sketch, 1629-1876*. Lynn: City Council, 1876.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Historical Address by Hon. James R. Newhall, One of the Vestry, On Whitsunday Evening, May 16, 1880." *Memorial of St. Stephen's Parish, Lynn, Mass.*, Lynn: St. Stephen's Memorial Church, 1882.
- Noll, Mark. *The Civil War as a Theological Crisis*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006.
- North Congregational Society Minutes, December 22, 27, 1873. 1<sup>st</sup> Church of Christ, Congregational Trinitarian Archives.
- Norton, Frank L. "An Historical Sermon Concerning the Church Life of S. Stephen's Parish, Lynn, Massachusetts, Delivered by the Rector, the Rev. Frank L. Norton, D.D. On Sunday Morning, November 7<sup>th</sup>, 1886." Lynn, Mass: Thomas P. Nichols Press, Market St., 1886.

- O'Brien, Vincent P. "Lynn Newspapers in the Twentieth Century," *No Race of Imitators: Lynn and Her People, an Anthology*. Elizabeth Hope Cushing, ed. Lynn: Lynn Historical Society, 1992, 153-172.
- O'Connor, Eileen. "Riot At the Meetinghouse: Controversy at the Lynn Quaker Meeting, 1822." Elizabeth Hope Cushing, ed. *No Race of Imitators: Lynn and Her People, an Anthology*. Lynn: Lynn Historical Society, 1992, 15-30.
- O'Donovan, Connell. "Mormons of Essex County MA." <[www.connellodonovan.com/essex\\_mormons.pdf](http://www.connellodonovan.com/essex_mormons.pdf)>.
- Padelford, Frank W. "Address on Behalf of Sister Churches." *Celebration of the 275<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the First Church of Christ, Lynn, Massachusetts*. Lynn: Thomas P. Nichol and Sons, 1907, 97-101.
- Paludan, Philip P. "Industrial Workers and the Costs of War." Lyde Cullen-Sizer and Jim Cullen, eds. *The Civil War Era: An Anthology of Sources*. Malden: Blackwell, 2005, 117-25.
- Perley, Sidney. *The Indian Land Titles of Essex County, Massachusetts*. Salem: Essex Book & Print Club, 1912.
- Perry, Lewis. *Radical Abolitionism: Anarchy and the Government of God in Anti-Slavery Thought*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1995.
- Pestana, Carla Gardina. *Quakers and Baptists in Colonial Massachusetts*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991.
- Petrin, Ronald Arthur. *French Canadians in Massachusetts Politics, 1885-1915: Ethnicity and Political Pragmatism*. Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Presses, 1990.
- Pettit, Norman. *The Heart Prepared: Grace and Conversion in Puritan Spiritual Life*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966.
- Pew Rental Records, St. Stephen's Memorial Episcopal Church Archive.
- Pickles, John D., ed., *Centennial Anniversary of the First Methodist Episcopal Church, Lynn, Mass., Observed February 19-22, 1891*. Lynn: George C. Herbert Press.
- Pope, Robert G. *The Half-Way Covenant: Church Membership in Puritan New England*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969.
- Proceedings in Lynn, Massachusetts, June 17, 1879, Being the Two Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the Settlement*. Lynn: City Council, 1880.

- Quinn, John F. "Expecting the Impossible? Abolitionist Appeals to the Irish in Antebellum America." *The New England Quarterly* Vol. 82, No. 4 (December 2009), 667-710.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Father Mathew's Crusade: Temperance in Nineteenth-Century Ireland and Irish America*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2002.
- Reasons and Patrick, "They Had a Dream: Jan E. Matzeliger, Inventor of the Lasting Machine." *Boston Sunday Advertiser*, April 6, 1969, 44.
- Register of the Lynn Historical Society*. Volumes 1-26. 1898-1931.
- Richardson, Peter Tufts. *The Boston Religion: Unitarianism in its Capital City*. Birmingham, AL: Red Barn, 2003.
- "The Riches to Rags Story of Ebenezer Breed (1766-1839)." Lynn Museum, (Summer 1999).
- Rosell, Garth M. *Boston's Historic Park Street Church: The Story of an Evangelical Landmark*. Grand Rapids, MI: Kregel Publications, 2009.
- Rosenblum, Naomi L. "The Housing of Lynn's Shoe Workers in 1915." *Life and Times in Shoe City: The Shoe Workers of Lynn*. Salem, MA: Essex Institute, 1979.
- "The Rt. Rev. Patrick Strain." *New York Times* Obituaries, February 8, 1893.
- Shattuck, Jr., Gardiner H. and David Hein. *The Episcopalians*. New York: Church Publishing, Inc., 2005.
- Shephard, Diane and Kenneth Turino. "The Evolution of a Holiday: Christmas in Lynn, Massachusetts from the Seventeenth to the Nineteenth Century." Elizabeth Hope Cushing, Ed. *No Race of Imitators: Lynn and Her People, an Anthology*. Lynn: Lynn Historical Society, 1992, 31-50.
- Shprecher, Richard M. "Crossing Borders: The Nova Scotian Origin of Zion Baptist Church in Lynn." Unpublished essay. Andover-Newton Theological Seminary, Baptist Theology and Polity, 2008.
- Siebert, Wilbur H. "The Underground Railroad in Massachusetts," *The New England Quarterly* Volume 9. No. 3 (September 1936), 447-67.
- Smith, Leonard. *The Unitarians: A Short History*. Providence: Blackstone, 2006.
- Smith, Timothy. *Called Unto Holiness: The Story of the Nazarenes*. Volume 1. Kansas City: Nazarene Publishing House, 1962.

- Smyth, Egbert. *Progressive Orthodoxy: A Contribution to the Christian Interpretation of Christian Doctrines*. New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1892.
- South Street Methodist Episcopal Church, Pastoral Records, 1877-1890. Boston University School of Theology Archives.
- Spieb, Patrick. *Why Has the Washingtonian Movement Failed: A Deep Analysis of the Early Temperance Movement*. Munich: Grin Verlag, 2013.
- Statistical Returns of the Church of St. Mary's Lynn for the Years Ending December 31, 1862-72. Archives of the Archdiocese of Boston.
- Steele, Robert. "First Church Historian's Letter to Barbara Mitchell Regarding Jan Ernst Matzeliger." 1<sup>st</sup> Church of Christ, Congregational Trinitarian Archives. 1969.
- Steinmetz, David C. *Calvin in Context*. Oxford, 1995.
- Sterling, Dorothy. *Ahead Of Her Time: Abby Kelley and the Politics of Antislavery*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1992.
- Sweeney, Kevin. "Meetinghouses, Town Houses, and Churches: Changing Perceptions of Sacred and Secular Space in Southern New England, 1720-1850" *Winterthur Portfolio* Volume 28. No. 1 (Spring, 1993), 59-93.
- Thompson, Julius, et al., eds. *The Frederick Douglass Encyclopedia*. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2010.
- Tolles, Frederick B. "New Light Quakers in Lynn and New Bedford." *The New England Quarterly* Volume 32. No. 3 (Sep., 1959), 291-319.
- "Very Rev. Patrick Strain: New England's First Monsignor and Chaplain to the Holy Father." *Sacred Heart Review*. Cambridge, February 22, 1890.
- Wardle, Addie Grace. *History of the Sunday School Movement in the Methodist Episcopal Church*. New York: The Methodist Book Concern, 1918.
- Wesley, John. *The Journal of John Wesley*. Percy Parker, Ed. Chicago: Moody Press, 1951.
- Wesley, John. *A Plain Account of Christian Perfection*. London: Epworth Press, 1952.
- White, Charles Edward. *The Beauty of Holiness: Phoebe Palmer as Theologian, Revivalist, Feminist, and Humanitarian*. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan/Francis Asbury Press, 1986.

- White, Erksine. "Church Erection." *The Assembly Herald* of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. General Assembly. Volume 14 (1908), 95-96.
- White, James W. *The Doctrine of Christian Perfection: Its Historic And Contemporary Relevance for Methodism*. Unpublished D.Min. Diss. Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary May 1997.
- Whiting, William. *Memoir of Rev. Samuel Whiting, D.D. and his Wife Elizabeth St. John, With Reference to Some of Their English Ancestors and American Descendants*. Boston: Rand, Avery & Co., 1873.
- Whitman, Walt. "The Soldiers." *The New York Times*. March 6, 1865.
- Wigger, John H. *Taking Heaven By Storm: Methodism and the Rise of Popular Christianity in America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- Wilson, H.M. "Boston & Vicinity, MA." U.S. Geological Survey, 1903.
- Winslow, Edward. *Good Newes From New England*. Bedford, MA: Applewood Books, Originally published in 1624.
- Woodbury, C. J. H. *The Bells of Lynn: A Paper Given Before the Lynn Historical Society December 10, 1914*. Lynn: Lynn Historical Society, 1915.
- Worthley, Harold Field. *An Inventory of the Records of the Particular (Congregational) Churches of Massachusetts Gathered 1620-1805*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1970.
- Wright Jr., Richard, and John Hawkins, eds. *Centennial Encyclopedia of the African Methodist Episcopal Church*. Philadelphia: African Methodist Episcopal Church, 1916.
- Zinn, Howard. *A People's History of the United States: 1492-Present*. New York: HarperCollins, 2003.